A RHETORICAL GRAMMAR

MNEMOSYNE

BIBLIOTHECA CLASSICA BATAVA

COLLEGERUNT

H. PINKSTER · H. S. VERSNEL

D.M. SCHENKEVELD · P. H. SCHRIJVERS

S.R. SLINGS

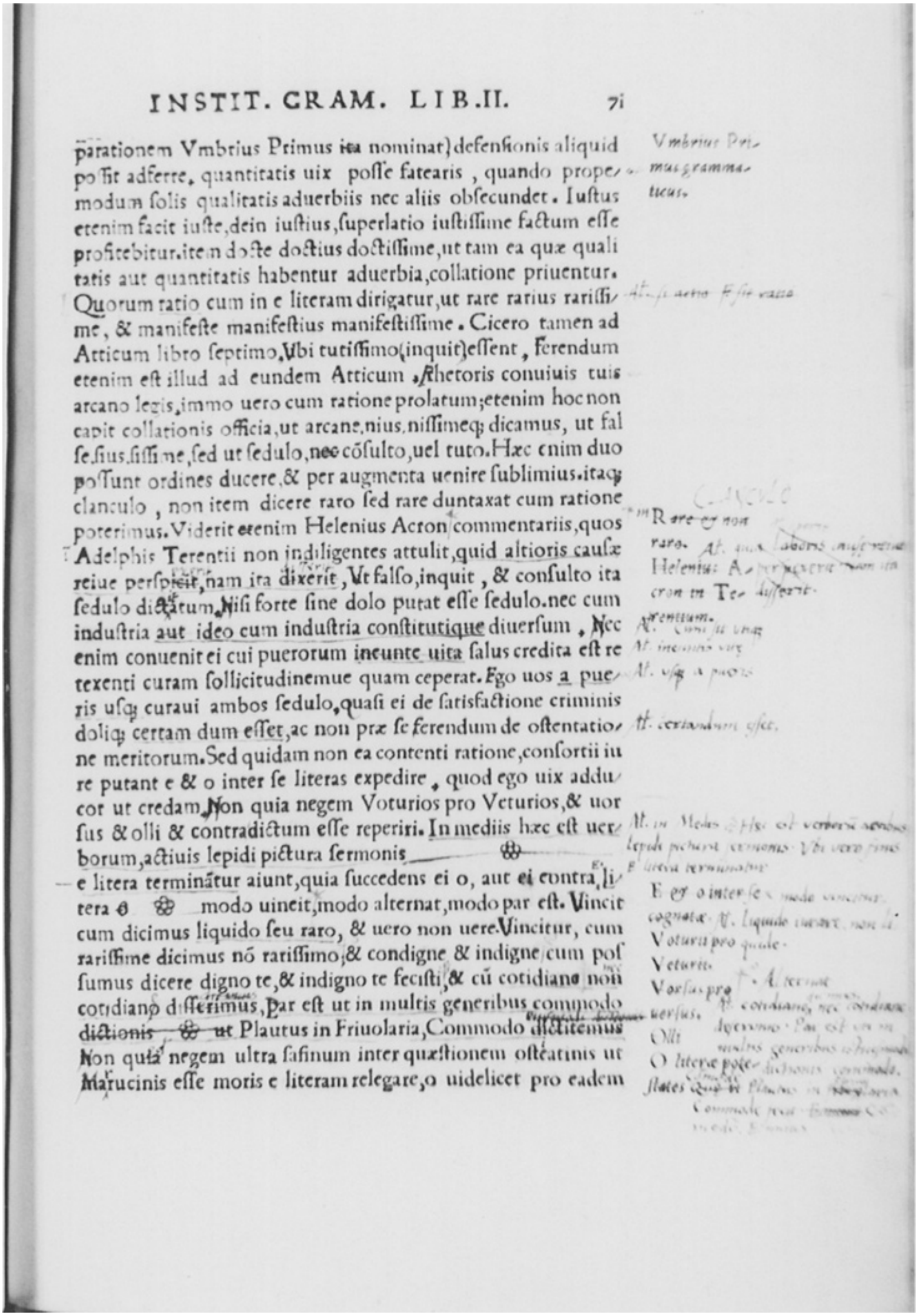
BIBLIOTHECAE FASCICULOS EDENDOS CURAVIT

H. PINKSTER, KLASSIEK SEMINARIUM, OUDE TURFMARKT 129, AMSTERDAM

SUPPLEMENTUM DUCENTESIMUM QUADRAGESIMUM SEPTIMUM

DIRK M. SCHENKEVELD

A RHETORICAL GRAMMAR


INSTIT. GRAM. LIB.II. 71

parationem Vmbrius Primus ita nominat) defensionis aliquid possit adferre, quantitatis uix posse fatearis, quando propemodum solis qualitatis aduerbiis nec aliis obsecundet. Iustus etenim facit iuste, dein iustius, superlatio iustissime factum esse profitebitur. item docte doctius doctissime, ut tam ea quæ qualitatis aut quantitatis habentur aduerbia, collatione priuentur. Quorum ratio cum in e literam dirigatur, ut rare rarius rarissime, & manifeste manifestius manifestissime. Cicero tamen ad Atticum libro septimo, Vbi tutissimo (inquit) essent, Ferendum etenim est illud ad eundem Atticum, Rhetoris conuiuis tuis arcano legis, immo uero cum ratione prolatum; etenim hoc non capit collationis officia, ut arcane, nius, nissimeq; dicamus, ut false, sius, sissime, sed ut sedulo, nec cōsulto, uel tuto. Hæc enim duo possunt ordines ducere, & per augmenta uenire sublimius. itaq; clanculo, non item dicere raro sed rare duntaxat cum ratione poterimus. Viderit etenim Helenius Acron commentariis, quos Adelphis Terentii non indiligentes attulit, quid altioris causæ reiue perspicit, nam ita dixerit, Vt falso, inquit, & consulto ita sedulo dictatum, Nisi forte sine dolo putat esse sedulo. nec cum industria aut ideo cum industria constitutique diuersum, Nec enim conuenit ei cui puerorum ineunte uita salus credita est retexenti curam sollicitudinemue quam ceperat. Ego uos a pueris usq; curaui ambos sedulo, quasi ei de satisfactione criminis doliq; certam dum esset, ac non præ se ferendum de ostentatione meritorum. Sed quidam non ea contenti ratione, consortii iure putant e & o inter se literas expedire, quod ego uix adducor ut credam, Non quia negem Voturios pro Veturios, & uorsus & olli & contradictum esse reperiri. In mediis hæc est uerborum, actiuis lepidi pictura sermonis e litera terminātur aiunt, quia succedens ei o, aut ei contra, litera o modo uincit, modo alternat, modo par est. Vincit cum dicimus liquido seu raro, & uero non uere. Vincitur, cum rarissime dicimus nō rarissimo, & condigne & indigne cum possumus dicere digno te, & indigno te fecisti, & cū cotidiano nō cotidiano differimus, Par est ut in multis generibus commodo dictionis ut Plautus in Friuolaria, Commodo dictitemus Non quia negem ultra safinum inter quæstionem ostéatinis ut Marucinis esse moris e literam relegare, o uidelicet pro eadem

Charisius, *ars grammatica* 249.24–251.10 as printed in the *editio princeps* with the annotations of Cauchius (*Codex Heidelbergensis* 370.3 Beiband) (See *Appendix* I)

A RHETORICAL GRAMMAR

C. IULIUS ROMANUS, INTRODUCTION TO THE LIBER DE ADVERBIO

AS INCORPORATED IN
CHARISIUS' *ARS GRAMMATICA* II.13

EDITION WITH INTRODUCTION,
TRANSLATION AND COMMENTARY

BY

DIRK M. SCHENKEVELD

BRILL
LEIDEN · BOSTON
2004

This book is printed on acid-free paper.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

The Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data is available on
http://catalog.loc.gov

ISSN 0169-8958
ISBN 90 04 13662 2

© Copyright 2004 by Koninklijke Brill NV, Leiden, The Netherlands

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, translated, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without prior written permission from the publisher.

Authorization to photocopy items for internal or personal use is granted by Brill provided that the appropriate fees are paid directly to The Copyright Clearance Center, 222 Rosewood Drive, Suite 910 Danvers, MA 01923, USA. Fees are subject to change.

PRINTED IN THE NETHERLANDS

CONTENTS

Preface vii

Chapter I Charisius as a transmitter of grammatical theory 1
a. Who was Fl. Sosipater Charisius? 1
b. The riddle of the preface 4
c. The overall structure 5
d. Further investigation of Charisius' methods of composition 9
e. Charisius: compiler or editor? 12
f. The background of Charisius' handbook 14
g. Charisius and his sources 17
h. Beyond Cominianus and Charisius 22
i. The preface again 27

Chapter II C. Iulius Romanus 29
a. Date and profession 29
b. His work: title, structure and type 30
c. The meaning of the title 'Αφορμαί 38
d. Romanus and his grammatical sources 39
e. Romanus' views on correct Latin 43
f. Romanus and the *veteres*: archaizing classicism 48
g. The merits of Romanus, the author of 'Αφορμαί 52

Chapter III The Introduction to the *liber de adverbio* of Romanus 54
a. Preliminary remarks 54
b. The transitions 57
c. The argument itself; (1) 246.18–249.23 58
d. The argument itself; (2) 249.24–251.19 64
e. The argument itself; (3) 251.20–252.31 67
f. The argument as a whole 69
g. Rhetorical aspects of the Introduction 70
h. Prose-rhythm 71

i. Functions of the Introduction and its place in Latin literature 75
j. The form of the Introduction 77

Text, *apparatus criticus*, and translation 81

Philological Commentary 97

Appendix I: Manuscript C and Johannes Cauchius 133

Bibliography 141

General Index 147

PREFACE

The main object of this book is to make known to scholars interested in the history of ancient linguistics and rhetoric a unique piece of Latin literature, the introduction written about 280 A.D. by a certain C. Julius Romanus to a long list of adverbs used by older writers and explained by him. This list and its introduction form a long chapter of a book on grammatical subjects which he entitled Ἀφορμαί, Starting Points, for those wishing to know more about the Latin Language. Romanus wrote prefaces to other chapters also, but this on the adverbs is the only one which he put into rhetorical clothing. To all appearances he wished to show that it was possible to treat a grammatical subject in a rhetorical way.

The rhetorical character of the introduction is evident not only from the use of external means, such as figures and tropes, daring imagery, prose-rhythm, carefully chosen wording, and well shaped periods, but—what is more interesting—from the way of handling his material, the internal side. He gives a survey of several aspects of the adverbial theory, but instead of presenting these merely as matters of fact, as is done in other grammars, he weaves an intricate argument from two main items: differences between adverbs and interjections on the one hand, and, on the other, the role of analogy and other factors in the formation of a certain type of adverbs. The reader should not, therefore, expect to get a full-blown treatment of the whole theory of the adverb. This knowledge Romanus presupposes to be already known to his audience.

This introduction and other parts of Romanus' book were in 360–362 put by Flavius Sosipater Charisius into his *ars grammatica.* This grammar, written for the benefit of his son, consists of long excerpts from earlier grammars and kindred writings, which Charisius put into some structure. Romanus' introduction in particular suffered for a long time from being in a bad textual shape. In 1925 Karl Barwick published a new edition of Charisius' grammar in which, thanks to new source material, he was able to give a much better text of the introduction also. At that time the study of ancient linguistics was starting to undergo a period of much lessened attention, and that

may have been a main reason why this introduction did not get serious attention from scholars. What had been said on it by scholars from the editions of Lindemann (1840) and Keil (1857) onwards was focused on a few statements picked out from it, but no scholar has observed its peculiar way of reasoning and tried to explain it.

My own interest in this text was aroused when as a consequence of my specialism in Greek rhetoric and grammar I was working on ancient Greek grammatical theory and came across a reference to the use by the Stoics of the term πανδέκτης, "all-receiver", for the adverb. The reference was to Romanus' text as found in Charisius' grammar. I did not understand the text and tried to solve problems I encountered. This happened in 1980; after that I became "addicted" to this text and decided to write a monograph on the subject. Much work was done in a few years, but I got distracted for various reasons and wrote papers on many other subjects. Consequently, the monograph remained unfinished. In the meantime I had given at various places papers on the introduction, both for linguists and rhetoricians, and the response to a final one given at a small colloquium at Leuven in 2000 made me decide to finish this book. I do not regret the long delay, for especially in the last decade important studies on ancient linguistics have been published which I was able to use with much profit in my book.

The level of difficulty of the introduction is such that to give an improved edition only is not enough; a translation and a commentary are indispensable too. The commentary is a philological one; this means that it has remarks with respect to the constitution of the text, its interpretation, its rhetorical aspects, and the grammatical theory informing it. An overall interpretation of the argument of the introduction will be found in a separate chapter. There I also tackle the question whether Romanus followed literary examples or not, and what kind of text the introduction is. A chapter on Charisius opens this monograph. There I discuss what we know about his life and work, and focus more specifically on the kind of work he wrote in comparison with other Latin grammars. This chapter also goes into the problem of Charisius' fore-runners. In the same way the chapter on Romanus discusses the composition of his book and its purposes.

I wish to thank here first my wife for her continuing interest in my studies. It is wonderful to be able to discuss aspects of classical texts

with her and to profit from her observations and suggestions. At my university, the Vrije Universiteit at Amsterdam, I enjoyed discussions with my colleague Aad Kleywegt, my staff member and later successor Siem Slings, and, particularly, with my erstwhile assistant Ineke Sluiter, who after her appointment as professor of Ancient Greek in Leyden remained helpful up till the last version. I have learned much from presentations at the Oxford conference of the International Society for the History of Rhetoric, at a seminar in Göttingen, at meetings of the Hellenistenclub and the (Latin) Hobbyclub at Amsterdam, and the colloquium at Leuven, already mentioned. I was also fortunate to be able to work on this book during a stay at the Fondation Hardt near Geneva, Switzerland and another at Merton College, Oxford U.K. Dr. Armin Schlechter of the University Library at Heidelberg gave me more information about the annotations made by Cauchius in his copy of the first edition of Charisius' *Ars grammatica* and sent me a microfilm of this copy. Michael Winterbottom (Oxford) kindly offered to correct my English. His expertise in Latin language and literature and of textual criticism has also been a great help.

Heemstede
May 2003

CHAPTER ONE

CHARISIUS AS A TRANSMITTER OF GRAMMATICAL THEORY

a. *Who was Fl. Sosipater Charisius?*

About 360 A.D. a certain Flavius Charisius Sosipater composed a huge work on grammar in five books, called *Ars grammatica.* He did so to help his son in understanding the rules governing the Latin language, as he states in his preface.[1]

This preface tells us something about the author, viz. that he has a son who is not a native speaker of Latin.[2] At 245.7 there is a reference to the precepts of his teacher, but unfortunately he does not say who this man was.[3] These and the fragmentary *titulus* of the preface, *Fl. Charisius Sosipater V.P. Magister* are the only pieces of direct evidence in Charisius' work about himself. For more information about the man we must rely on inferences based on his work and its position in the field of Latin grammar. More sources are not available, for later users of his work only give his name, and even this not always in the correct form.[4] The inferences will bring us further, but their weight is not as great as that of the foregoing statements.

Grammarians often use place names to illustrate declensions. Some of these are standard examples, like *Roma,* others are rare. From some striking examples of this kind in Charisius' book Schmidt inferred that Charisius was born in Skythopolis (in modern Jordan), studied or taught in Berytus, Sidon and Carthago, and lived in Chrysopolis (across Constantinople), when he wrote his work.[5] But

[1] Throughout this book I use the Charisius edition of Barwick (1925) for quotations and its page and line numbers for references.

[2] Pag. 1.14–5: (read this book frequently) *ut quod originalis patriae natura denegavit virtute animi adfectasse videaris... fili patri tuo karissime.*

[3] *Certe inter aptota nomina pluralia posuimus, secuti praecepta magistri nostri.* See section I f. for a further discussion of this passage.

[4] Rufinus, *GL* 6.572. After the fifth century a shortened version usually went under the name of Flavianus or Cominianus. See Schmidt § 523.2 Lit. 5.

[5] 45.15–17; 243.27–244.2. See Schmidt *l.c.* A.

Uría Valera has shown that it is far from certain that the examples come from Charisius himself and not from earlier authors.[6]

Jerome tells us that in 358 a certain C(h)restus, when still in Africa, received an important appointment as a grammarian in Constantinople.[7] One manuscript gives this name as *Charistus.* It is very attractive to emend this name into that of Charisius, as Usener did. Kaster, however, rightly objects that a change from Chrestus via Charistus to Charisius was easier to make in a manuscript than *vice versa,* because Chrestus is an unknown person and in later times Charisius was not.[8] So we cannot even be certain that our author was a *grammaticus* by profession.

To think so looks obvious because of the nature of Charisius' work, an *ars grammatica.* In the *titulus* of the preface we read: *Fl. Sosipater Charisius V.P. Magister* and then after a small lacuna *filio karissimo salutem dicit.* Keil filled the lacuna as follows: *(Magister) <urbis Romae>.* A *vir perfectissimus* (*V.P.*) belonged to the rank of the *equites,* but this title tells us little, except that Charisius was in the possession of civil rights and was a man of some consequence. The title is in agreement with the name *Flavius.* From the second quarter of the fourth century onwards it served as a kind of status designation for those who had served in the imperial military or civil service.[9] The designation *magister urbis Romae* or *magister urbis Romae Constantinopolitanae*[10] for a grammarian seems to be unique, although in many manuscripts *grammaticus urbis Romae* is used for Donatus.[11]

However, another suggestion is that Charisius was *magister scrinii,* a title reserved for high officials dealing with requests at the imperial court.[12] This would make him a non-professional author of a grammar, an amateur highly interested in the subject. In that case one may compare him to men like Pliny the Elder, Aulus Gellius, and Macrobius.

---

[6] Uría Valera 2001.

[7] *Chron. ab Abr.* for the year 2374 = A.D. 358: *Evanthius eruditissimus grammaticorum Constantinopoli diem obiit, in cuius locum ex Africa C(h)restus adducitur.* Usener 1868 (= 1912.2,173–4).

[8] Kaster 1988, # 200, p. 393 and # 27, p. 253.

[9] Kaster 1988, 109. From the names Charisius and Sosipater we can deduce nothing pertinent to our search.

[10] Thus Usener, *o.c.* (n. 7), cp. Schmidt § 523.2, Lit. 2.

[11] Kaster 1988, # 52.

[12] *PLRE* I.201, where because of Keil's supplement about Rome is added "in the West". For the *magistri scrinii* see A.H.M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire* (Oxford, 1964), 504–5 *et al.*

Kaster, indeed, thinks so,[13] not because of the possible supplement after *magister*, but because of Charisius' dedication of his book to his son,[14] not to an official person. We can give this suggestion a more solid basis, if Charisius' remark in passing at 372.1–3 hints at his writing this book at times when he is free from business. There he says that his treatment of the *schemata dianoeas* will be short and someone with more *otium* (*siquis otiosior fuerit*) will be able to complete it.[15]

Because at 54.5–6 his examples together form the words *Magnus. . . . Iulianus . . . Augustus*[16] it is not an unfounded hypothesis to think that Charisius wrote his work in the years 360–2, when Julian the Apostate was still emperor and a complimentary mention was in order. The suggestion that Constantinople was the birth place of this Latin *ars*,[17] is an inference from the acceptance of Usener's emendation and has in itself nothing improbable. We know that during most of his reign Antioch was Julian's residence, and consequently the example in 302.17 *Antiochia veni* has been seen as either honouring Julian in another way or indicating a city Charisius was somehow connected with.[18]

We do not know for certain whether Latin was Charisius' native language or not—it probably was—, at any rate it was not that of his son, as is clear from the introductory dedication of his work to his son.[19] Finally, because of 151.15–7 *Adam* ὁ πρωτόπλαστος *monoptoton est, proin Latine ut et Graece. Abraham adaeque monoptoton esse censeto* Charisius has been thought to be a Christian, but such an inference is not inevitable.

Thus, we only know for certain that Charisius was an official in the imperial service, who wrote an *ars grammatica* to be used by his

---

13 Kaster 1988, # 200. The same conclusion in Munzi 1992.

14 Just as Macrobius dedicated his *Saturnalia* to his son. Janson 1964, 117 mentions dedications of books to their sons by Cato the Elder, Cicero, and Seneca the Elder. In contrast with dedications to officials or men with a higher position than the author's, these prefaces do not assume a self-deprecatory tone and do not suggest that the author was "requested" by the dedicatee or his friends to write the book. These features are absent from Charisius' preface too. See also Munzi 1992, 112–3.

15 Perhaps lack of *otium* can also explain why he sometimes cuts off his copying parts of Romanus' lists (297.25–8 and 310.26–311.2).

16 Tolkiehn 1910b, 1055.

17 Schmidt § 521.1 and 524. A.

18 Uría Varela 2001.

19 1.14–5 (learn my work diligently and commit it to your memory), *ut quod originalis patriae natura denegavit, virtute animi adfectasse videaris.* We may conclude from this phrase that Latin was Charisius' native tongue, for otherwise he would have said it was not. In the dedication of his *Saturnalia* to his son Macrobius remarks (1.11) that both he and his son do not have Latin as their mother tongue.

son, who was not a native Latin speaker. Among the inferences drawn by scholars the most interesting and persuasive is that about Charisius living and writing in the eastern part of the Roman Empire. It would put the handbook in a definite setting of *artes* written for a Greek public in the new centre of the Empire and explain the presence of the multitude of references to the Greek language.[20] Already in I.3 the differences between the vowels in Latin and Greek are mentioned, in I.4 the etymology of *syllaba* from τὸ συλλαβεῖν τὰ γράμματα occurs, and in I.9 the absence of the dual number is noted. Throughout the work Greek equivalents of Latin words are given, and sometimes specifically Latin notions receive an explanation. Thus, in I.11 we not only read a long list of *singularia tantum* and *pluralia tantum*, almost each item being followed by its Greek equivalent, but at 37.10–12 Latin words are explained: *haec palaria, cum milites ad palos exercentur: haec Parentalia* νεκύσια, *ubi eos qui peregre moriuntur colunt parentarium dicitur.*[21] It would take, however, too long to develop this aspect of Charisius' book here and it is not strictly necessary for the main theme of my study.[22]

b. *The riddle of the preface*

The purpose of his work, Charisius says, is that through thorough inspection and frequent reading his son will come to the understanding to what extent the Latin language is ruled by *natura, analogia, ratio, consuetudo,* and *auctoritas,* well-known criteria for correct Latin.[23] Or, to use more modern terminology, his son has to learn the various rules of Latin grammar with their exceptions. The son must already have a considerable knowledge of Latin, or he could never have read his father's *ars.* But what would he have thought when he looked through the book? If Greek was his native language, he could at

[20] Another example is Diomedes' *Ars grammatica.* On grammars written for non-Roman speaking citizens of the Empire see Dionisotti 1984.
[21] More examples in Tolkiehn 1907, 1020–2.
[22] I presented a first attempt at the Lyon colloquium of 24–27 April 2002 on Bilinguism and graeco-latin grammatical terminology. The whole subject of the intended readership of the works of Charisius and Diomedes is now being investigated by Karen Stoppie, lic.art KU Leuven.
[23] Siebenborn 1976, 56–83. See also Schenkeveld 1996.

least profit from the many times Greek equivalents were given, but there is so much more and then knowledge of Greek is of no help at all. We may well feel pity for the boy's plight. For the contents are overwhelming and the structure of this handbook is far from immediately evident. Or was the book given to the boy's teacher and was this man supposed to teach the topics piece-meal, as has been suggested?[24] If the latter, why does Charisius not say so instead of stressing the boy's own activity of reading? The solution may well be that the father takes it for granted that there is a tutor under whose guidance the son will study.

Another interpretation of this preface is that behind the son stands the intended audience in Charisius' place of work, Constantinople, namely Greeks who need to have a good competence in Latin, now that this city has become the emperor's residence.[25] We shall come back to the riddle posed by this preface (see section i).

c. *The overall structure*

I have said that the structure of the book is not immediately evident,[26] but recent research has shed much light on it. Especially helpful in this respect are two articles by Vivien Law (1986 and 1996) on a distinction in later Latin grammars between what she calls the *Schulgrammatik* genre and that of the *regulae* and the mnemotechnic principles underlying these types. Later on these notions will receive an explanation.

After the *praefatio* the manuscript N and its descendant (n^{1})[27] have

---

[24] See Holtz 1981, 84–5 on the works of Charisius and Diomedes as "livres de maître".

[25] Schmidt § 523.2,A.

[26] This fact has been commented upon by various scholars, thus Matthews 1994, 76 "Charisius' text is diffuse and derivative and, to a modern reader at least, indifferently organized" and Baratin 1994, 153 *et alibi* speaks of "la complète désorganisation du schéma artigraphique originel" which reigns in the works of Charisius and others.

[27] For the manuscript tradition see Barwick 1924; Holtz 1978; Rouse 1983 and Schmidt § 523.2 C. The main points of this tradition are: among existant codices the Ms N (N$^{1/2}$, s. vii/viii)) is the fullest and most important one. Other, shorter versions go under the name of Flavianus Cominianus. In his copy of the *editio princeps* (1532) the Dutch scholar Johannes Cauchius (Cuyck) annotated before 1551 variant readings which he took over from a Ms now lost. This Ms C can be reconstructed with the help of Cauchius' annotations and those found in other publications

an index of the work's contents.[28] Although this list is at the end not wholly correct,[29] it helps us to reconstruct the whole of Charisius' book. A reconstruction is necessary for at the beginning and the end of our manuscripts parts have been lost. It appears that in the first book Charisius first discusses some basic notions, such as *vox* and *littera* (1–6), and then suddenly switches to a treatment of the *accidentia* of the noun without saying what a *nomen* is (7–19). He deals with the five declensions and then with specific categories and problems, such as the *monoptota*, rules to decide the *genus* of a nomen, how to form a genitive from the nominative, and gives long chapters (15 and 17) about problematic words and about rules of analogy. These chapters have one common denominator in that they all deal with *nomina*. In the second book some basic new definitions, which had not previously been mentioned, are given (1–4). From now on till the end of this book the *partes orationis* from *nomen* up to *interiectio* receive their treatment, but the chapter on the noun has no part on the declensions, these having been dealt with in the first book. Book III contains detailed treatments of aspects of the verb and can be seen as a parallell to book I.7–19 on the noun. The main difference from the latter chapters is the absence of long chapters such as I. 15 and 17. In book IV Charisius comes to a discussion of barbarism, solecism and other faulty means of expression, and then to the acceptable and recommendable means, such as tropes, metaplasms, and figures of style and thought. Then follows the part on metres in poetry, but this is now almost totally lost.[30] Book V treats *idiomata* and *differentiae*, that is, it gives lists of forms and constructions which are different from their Greek counterparts and lists of differences in meaning between Latin words themselves.[31]

---

by several scholars from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries who used the Ms, directly or indirectly, when it was in possession of Janus Dousa (1545–1605). It is not known at what date C disappeared. Ms C contained a shorter version of Charisius' text. See also Appendix I.

[28] Barwick 1925, xxii, argues that this index stems from Charisius, but that in the transmission the order at the end was disturbed. One may compare Pliny's list at the end of the preface to his *Nat. Hist.*

[29] After IV.i (*de barbarismo*)–vi (*de lectione*) it continues with chapter numbers iv–xvi. IV.xv-xvi belong to book V, which does not appear in this list.

[30] In N a part was lost and thereafter came Servius, *De centum metris*.

[31] What is found here in Barwick's edition is not all originally by Charisius, e.g. the part on the *differentiae*, although it is present in N. See Holtz 1978, 230–3, Dionisotti 1982, 118–9 and Schmidt § 532.2 B.

Thus the general plan of the book is as follows: after a short mention of basic definitions at the beginning of books I and II books I–III deal with the eight parts of speech, IV treats stylistics and metric, and V describes differences between Greek and Latin. We can imagine why Charisius put a lot of the finer points of the theory of the verb in a separate book (bk III), because otherwise book II would have become too unwieldy.[32] In view of what we know about earlier handbooks we can also understand that after book III the fourth book would be reserved for stylistics. Therefore the treatment of the *idiomata* had to be postponed until book V.[33] From this survey follows that the general plan of Charisius' *ars* keeps to the organization of the bulk of the grammars, both Greek and Latin, we have, namely that of a part devoted to the definitions of elementary notions of *vox, littera, syllaba, oratio* etc.,[34] a second, and much larger, part focusing on the *partes orationis*, and a third part discussing the *virtutes ac vitia orationis* etc.[35] Charisius adds a fourth part on the *idiomata*. This organisation is that of the so-called *Schulgrammatik* and is based on the logical structure of *grammatica* itself, as perceived by the ancient linguists.[36] This logical structure of grammar was closely connected with the meaning of its various components, and not, or at any rate, to a much lesser extent, with their form. Thus, the whole theory of parts of speech is founded on the distinction of meaning. Law 1996 has shown that apart from the presence of parts based on this principle, late Latin grammars such as those of Charisius and Diomedes also contain large portions dealing with form—both inflectional and derivational morphology—because of the growing importance of these aspects in the area of instruction. These portions often have an alphabetical structure, and we find this structure in book I, chapters 10, 14, 15 and 16, to give a few examples. An alphabetical order is also present in book I.11, which contains long lists of nouns that are

---

[32] At 229.31–3 Charisius promises to come back to other *observationes* on the conjugations of verbs after finishing the treatment of the eight parts of speech. At the beginning of book III (316.1) he refers to this promise. Cp. Barwick 1922, 246–7.

[33] For the place of the *idiomata* Barwick 1922, 246–7 comes up with a similar explanation: they concern nouns and to put these in book I would have been to the detriment of a clear arrangement. However, 379–90.19 treat all parts of speech and therefore belong after book III.

[34] This part is called by Froehde 1892b "die Anfangsgründe der römischen Grammatik".

[35] This third part is absent from Greek grammars. See Baratin-Desbordes 1986.

[36] See Law 1996, 41–3.

semper singularia or *semper pluralia*. It is true that the first principle of ordering is one predominantly based on the genders (*masculina semper singularia, feminina. . . ., neutralia semper singularia* etc.),[37] but the lists of words within each group are arranged alphabetically. In her 1986 article Law had already distinguished grammars based on such a principle from those of the *Schulgrammatik* genre and called them *regulae*. In these works the workings of analogy are demonstrated, and they contain numerous paradigms (*regulae* in Latin, in Greek *κανόνες*). At the end of the fourth century the two genres were combined, and Charisius' grammar is an example of this combination of genres.[38]

Notwithstanding these explanations, the structure of the whole *ars* still raises various questions. One of these concerns the separation between the group of definitions in I.1–6 and that in II.1–5. Why does the definition of the *nomen*, necessary for the understanding of the chapters 7–19 of the foregoing book, not appear before II.6? As to the cut within the group of definitions, it appears from the survey in Froehde's *Anfangsgründe*[39] that none of the existing grammars has the same order in the treatment of these general notions, and even the choice of various notions is not uniform. Interestingly, Diomedes also divides the treatment of these notions over two books, but he prefers a different order and a different selection. He points out, moreover, that the *artes* he knows all start with a different subject: *ab arte ipsa, ab elementis vel litteris, a casibus* [. . . .] *nos vero ab ipsa oratione* (300.3–5 K).[40] Thus there is some justification for the disorganisation of the definitions, but no more than this.

The main difficulty of the structure of books I and II is, however, the position of I.7–19, as well as the sudden introduction in I.7 of the cases, genders, and numbers of the noun. A satisfying answer is not easy to find, for it is too facile to say that Charisius found this order in his source. This would only move the problem one step back. With Law (1996, 47) we can only say that Charisius adopts a plan "designed to eliminate confusion by keeping primarily formal aspects of language separate from primarily semantic ones". But will Charisius' son have perceived this plan?

[37] At the end (38.3–39.23) this principle of selection is displaced by one of categories such as *elementa*, *metallica*, and nouns of rivers, cities, and mountains.
[38] More on this subject in section f.
[39] Froehde 1892, 8–10.
[40] Cp. Dammer 2001, 65–74.

d. *Further investigation of Charisius' methods of composition*

A few lines above I referred to the source Charisius may have been dependent upon for the position of I.7–19. This reference is not unjustified, for Charisius himself characterises his work as *studia ex variis artibus inrigata* (p. 1.13), "a work flowing forth from various *artes*". Now, to compose a handbook from various sources is a common procedure, nowadays too, and quite acceptable, provided the editor or author names his sources. To make the handbook accessible for his readers the editor must bring order into his material and put into a context what he takes over from a source. At any rate, to collect source material and put pieces dealing with the same subject and having much overlap together without any pruning is not what a serious editor would do today. For Charisius, however, other standards seem to apply.

More than once Charisius quotes long pieces of grammatical lore which derive from earlier works on grammar. When doing so he is not concerned with presenting one flowing argument of his own without overlap. What he often does is to put pieces about the same subject and from various authors one after another. The information contained in one piece may contradict, or, at least, be different from what is given in another one, and the usage of grammatical terms may not be uniform. Nevertheless, Charisius does not draw the attention of his reader to these differences. At first sight his own contribution seems only to be to say from which source the following pages come. He may even introduce such a piece, quote it for several lines, and then cut off the quotation and refer his reader for the rest of this matter to the source mentioned. At other times he is more active and inserts cross-references to other parts of work. But on the whole, it looks as if Charisius is more a compiler than an editor, let alone an original author. To underline this derivative character of Charisius' work, I should add that modern research has built a strong case for the idea that Charisius does not in all cases make direct use of the sources he quotes but is dependent on compilations made before his own time (see later on).

An instructive example of Charisius' method of compiling is the overall division of II.14, the chapter on conjunctions (289.19–297.28):

(1) 289.19–290.12: *De coniunctione, ut ait Cominianus.*
(2) 290.12–296.13: *Palaemon autem ita definit.*
(3) 296.14–297.28: *Item etsi, ut ait C. Iulius Romanus.*

The three parts contain to some extent the same material, and parts (2) and (3) offer more than the first part. The endings of parts (1) and (2) are not marked as such, whereas part (3) has a clearly marked ending because Charisius breaks off the list of conjunctions standing for other conjunctions in works of earlier writers and refers the reader for more information to Romanus' book. Another distinctive feature is the transition from part (2) to the final one. In part (2) from 292.9 onwards Palaemon-Charisius discusses the moods (*qualitates*) to be used after conjunctions. From 294.12 on each successive conjunction is introduced by *item*, e.g. *item dummodo subiunctiva* (*sc. recipit*); this happens for the last time at 296.7 (*item ni et nisi subiunctiva*). At l. 14 we have the words quoted above and here starts the part taken from Romanus' work. However, against the reader's expectations, the phrase does not state which mood may follow *etsi*. On the contrary, Romanus says that *etsi* is ἀνακόλουθον when in the apodosis *tamen* does not follow (*quotienscumque τῷ etsi non reddimus tamen*). From his example (Ter. *Hec.* 247) it appears that here Romanus notes the combination *etsi. . . ., sed.* Hereafter Romanus continues with a list of conjunctions used for other ones, but after four lemmata Charisius breaks off with the words referred to above.

Another good example of Charisius' method sketched so far is chapter XIII of the second book. The whole chapter deals with the adverb. In Barwick's edition it numbers 56 pages (233.1–289.17) and consists of four large parts, taken over from works of persons either named or just indicated by *alii*. I add a brief description of the aspects dealt with in these parts.

(1) 233.1–24 *haec quidem breviter Cominianus grammaticus disseruit* (l.24).
Contents: Definition; Adverbs are *suae positionis* or *ab aliis transeunt* (that is to say, they are not derived from other parts of speech, e.g. *heri* and *nuper*, or they are made from those parts, such as *docte* from *doctus*); The accidents of the adverb.

(2) 233.5–241.19 *alii autem per eadem aut eo amplius processerunt sic.*
Contents: (a) 233.27–235.7 Definition; Accidents; (Non-)derivation;
(b) 235.8–240.8 Treatment according to the endings of nouns from which adverbs are formed;
(c) 240.9–241.10 Can adverbs be taken from participles, pronouns and verbs? This section is introduced by the words *nonnullis grammaticis placet* (l.9).
(d) 241.1–19 Brief treatment of the adverbs of place.

(3) 241.20–246.17 *aliis de adverbiis longius disserere ita placuit* (this part probably goes back to Palaemon)[41]
Contents: (a) 241.20–244.26 Definition; Species (like adverbs of time, place etc.)
(b) 245.1–246.17 Additions concerning some particular adverbs.

(4) 246.18–289.17 *C. Iulius Romanus ita refert de adverbio.*
Contents: (a) 246.18–252.31 Introduction (the subject of this study)
(b) 253.1–289.17 Treatment of (particularly archaic) adverbs in alphabetical order.

This brief survey already proves that Charisius' own contribution here has apparently been only to put together pieces taken from previous authors and to introduce each part by an indication where it comes from. In this way we can understand why, to give an example, the definition of the adverb is given four times in almost the same wording: *adverbium est pars orationis quae adiecta* (*praeposita* 233.27) *verbo significationem eius implet atque explanat* (233.1 and 233.27); *explanat atque implet* (241.21 and 246.19).

My final example concerns the chapter on prepositions (II.15). It has three sections, each indicated as follows:

(1) 298.1–299.13: *De praepositione, ut ait Cominianus.*
(2) 299.13–307.16: *De praepositionibus Palaemon ita definit.*
(3) 307.17–311.2: *Gaius Iulius Romanus de praepositionibus libro ἀφορμῶν ita refert.*

Halfway through section (2) at 301.16–21 Charisius inserts a reference to a statement of Romanus, which he disagrees with. This insertion apparently forces him to repeat the name of Palaemon, and he then continues to quote from this source (301.22 *Apud Palaemonem aliae observationes penitus digestae sunt*).

The three parts in this chapter have many overlaps, in the same way as in the chapters discussed before. With them it shares another feature, which it is important to notice: The first section on the preposition from Cominianus is quite short, that of Palaemon much longer as it deals more exhaustively with the same subjects and adds

[41] In view of *Palaemon docet* (241.23) it may ultimately derive from Palaemon. Cf. Barwick 1922, 127.

other subjects. The third one from Romanus also treats the same general aspects but is different in so far as it offers a list of prepositions the *veteres* used in the sense of other prepositions. Almost the same feature of at first a short part, then two longer ones with that of Romanus at the end is found in the chapters about the adverb and the conjunction, although in that on the adverb parts from *alii* were also cited.

This manner of collocating parts from different sources is found throughout Charisius' work: in I.4 (*de syllabis*), 5 (*de communibus syllabis*), 16 (*de gradibus comparationis*), 18 (*de ablativi casu*), in II.7 (*de pronomine*), 8 (*de verbo*). 12 (*de participio*) and 16 (*de interiectione*), in book IV.1 for the parts *de barbarismo* and *de soloecismo* and in V *de idiomatibus*. We can distinguish three types of introducing the various parts:

(a) no introduction—*aliis ita placuit definire/disserere* (I.4, 5, 16, and V), sometimes continued after this part by *aliis (quibusdam) placuit....* (II.7 and 8);
(b) *ut ait Cominianus—aliis (..) ita placuit....* (I.18 and IV.1) or no introduction—*Cominianus (..) ita (...) refert* (II.12).
(c) *Cominianus ...—Palaemon ...—Romanus ...* (II.14, 15, 16 and 17).

In II.13, as we have seen, there is a mixed type: *Cominianus—alii—alii—Romanus*, among which parts the third one goes back to Palaemon (see note 41).

In all other remaining chapters Charisius offers one discussion, mostly without indicating his source (I.(1)–3, 6–15, 19; II.1–6, 9–10; III,1–8; IV after 1.1–2). Only in I.17 do the heading (*de analogia, ut ait Romanus*) and the first lines of II.11 (*De coniugationibus (...) Cominianus (...) ita disseruit* testify to their source. However, we can refine our survey, for in II.9–11 the first two chapters represent one version of the theory of conjugation, witness their terminology (*ordo, instans, qualitates, finitivus* and *subiunctivus*). The other version, that of Cominianus, comes in II.11 and uses a different terminology: *coniugatio, praesens, indicativus* etc.

e. *Charisius: compiler or editor?*

A quick look at the foregoing survey, specifically the scheme of Charisius' types of introducing his sources, already justifies the characterisation of Charisius as a compiler and editor rather than an

original author. But should we call him a compiler, who puts his material together without any editorial work, or does he also have traits of an editor, the sort of person I sketched at the beginning of the previous section? The answer is, I think, that Charisius has traits of both types.

In the chapters with parts coming from Cominianus we observe a deliberate way of ordering. First comes a rather short part from Cominianus, dealing with the essentials of the theory of the part of speech under discussion. Then follows a longer part or several longer parts with more details.[42] Jeep and other scholars have made the same observation, and they rightly explained it as being due to a pedagogical and didactic intention, one which is in agreement with Charisius' preface to his son.[43]

This didactic purpose will also be the cause of the many internal references in the handbook. Apart from those present in the parts from Romanus, there are some 70 internal references. Most of them concern information that has been given one or two pages earlier, and we can imagine that this kind of reference was very easy for Charisius to make. But there are some references to passages far more away. Thus at 24.15 we have one to 50.30 ff.; at 44.14 to 30.9; at 50.21 to 36.19. For example, a very long distance is there between 69.19 and the place it refers to, 141.5, or 74.1 and 112.2.[44] All these references look either forward or backward. This fact implies that Charisius possessed a clear overview of his work. This overview also is evident is when he promises at 229.31 to come back to the conjugations of the verb after finishing the discussion of the other parts of speech. This happens in book III, and the very first words recall this promise (see section c).

We find other evidence of a didactic design when Charisius refers his reader for more information to the source he has used till now. This happens where he is using Romanus' work, 297.25–8 and 310.26–11.2, but also at 222.19 and 372.2. There he says respectively that it is of no use to give more examples of *declinatio verborum*

---

[42] Sometimes the second part is shorter than the first one. Is this due to loss of text in the process of transmission? This must have been the case in II.13, p. 241.20 (*aliis de adverbiis longius disserere ita placuit*), for this part is shorter than the previous one. But in II.12 on the participle (in itself already a short chapter) the second part comes from Cominianus and Charisius introduces it by the words *Cominianus [. . . .] breviter refert.*

[43] Jeep 1896, 424; Barwick 1922, 63–5 and Holtz 1981, 84–5.

[44] Other long distance references: 76.3–180.12, 93.23–42.8, 107.30–26.8, 109.27–28.13, 112.1–42.8, 118.9–24 ff., 145.5–59.19 (?), 203.6–21.11. There are more.

and that what follows represents a selection of *schemata dianoeas*, more of which someone with more *otium* can easily supply himself.

Thus, we may conclude that Charisius' role in composing his *ars grammatica* was both that of an editor and a compiler. We must call him a compiler because he did not rework his material into a book of his own with a consistent terminology and no overlap, but took over from other books long parts he just put together without change. We must call him an editor because he inserted many internal references to help readers of this book. He arranged his material in a way which cannot be wholly attributed to the tradition he was working in. He often presents his material in a well chosen manner, by putting the shorter parts first and the longer ones at second place. To this act of editorship we can add that at his own initiative Charisius put into his work the long chapter on *analogia, ut ait Romanus* (I.17) and in chapters II.13 ff. longer or shorter parts from Romanus' treatise. This claim will be argued for when we have looked at the background to Charisius' own *ars*.

f. *The background to Charisius' handbook*

So far we have looked at Charisius' work itself without bothering about its place in the corpus of Latin grammars as we have them,[45] and now is the time to do so.

The *ars grammatica* of Charisius belongs to a group of handbooks which after Barwick's fundamental book about Remmius Palaemon and the Roman *ars grammatica* (1922) scholars nowadays group together. Their counterpart is formed by the shorter and more elementary "Schulgrammatik", which after a short introduction to the basic notions of grammar gives a fairly basic theory of the eight parts of speech and more than once ends with a part on stylistics (*virtutes* and *vitia orationis*). To this latter group belong works like those of Scaurus I and II, Sacerdos bk. I and the *ars minor* of Donatus. The works of the first group consist of more than one book; they also treat the parts of speech but give much more detailed discussion and more argument, and they also add parts on related subjects, such as metre, clausula, and orthography. Here belong the grammars of Sacerdos bks II and III, Palladius (= Pseudo-Probus + Audax), Charisius,

[45] Examples are extant from the third century A.D. onwards (see Schmidt § 521).

Donatus' *ars maior* and Diomedes.[46] From what we know about these works, especially the latter two, it would appear that Charisius stands halfway between Sacerdos/Palladius and Diomedes, for the first two just have epitomised their sources and Diomedes tries harder to shape his material into a flowing argument. To achieve this result, he combines large or small fragments from one source with those coming from another source.[47]

In principle, both the "Schulgrammatik" group and that of the larger works are built around and on the parts of speech. This common factor determines their structure. Therefore, we can put them together under a bigger heading, that of the *ars grammatica* type, and contrast this type with another one, the *regulae* type, as was done by Vivien Law and, in her wake, by Mario De Nonno.[48] We have already met with this distinction in section c, but more must be said. The works of the *regulae* type "were originally designed to demonstrate the workings of analogy, and therefore contain numerous paradigms (*regulae* or *kanónes*), and often lists of examples as well", as Law (1986) says. They do not cover all subjects, they may discuss only one part of speech, or two, like Probus' *Catholica*. "Their internal structure is provided by some other classificatory criterion" than the *accidentia* of each part of speech, e.g. by "alphabetical order, gender, declension, conjugation, or a mixture of these. They give the impression of being reference works intended for consultation rather than school textbooks designed for systematic study [. . .] Some of the longer compilations—Charisius, Diomedes, Probus' *Instituta artium*, Priscianus' *Institutiones grammaticae*—draw upon sources of both types." De Nonno has taken up this distinction and added new insights. Thus he draws up parallels between the *regulae* type and the Greek works like the καθολικὰ θεωρήματα mentioned by Sextus Empiricus and the *Canones nominis et verbi* of Theodosius of Alexandria.[49] He can point to forerunners on the Latin side, like the books *De latinitate*, discussed by Barwick (1922). What is a more important point here, he also asserts that in the works of Charisius and Diomedes both types of *ars grammatica* and

[46] Schmidt § 521.

[47] Dammer 2001, 20; see also Schmidt § 524 B; Holtz 1981, ch. III.6 and Kaster 1988, 148–9.

[48] Law 1986; De Nonno 1993, 633–42, to whom I am indebted for the designation of *ars grammatica* type. Law speaks of the "Schulgrammatik type", but this term reminds one too much of Barwick's "Schulgrammatik", which has a shorter range.

[49] Sext. Emp. *Adv. Mathemat.* I.221–2; Theodosius' text in *GG iv*.

regulae come together because of the needs of the Greek audience.

This recognition of a *regulae* type undoubtedly helps us to get a better grip on the work of Charisius. It enables us not only to point out chapters that belong to this type but also to explain their presence. Thus an alphabetical arrangement is found in I.10 on the conjugation of the verb, especially for the *ordo tertius* (23–31), on the endings of nouns in I.15, and in the parts coming from Iulius Romanus (I.17; II.13–6). Romanus explicitly announces his method of ordering his material according to the alphabet (150.6). We can also better understand the presence of the chapters I.11–19, which apparently interrupt the organisation of the first books (see section c). They focus on specific aspects of the noun, and especially chapters I.11, 12, and 14 (with its title *de nominativis ad regulam redactis*!) bristle with Greek equivalents of the Latin words under discussion.

Notwithstanding this help towards a better understanding I am reluctant at this stage to accept without more ado De Nonno's assertion about the needs of a non-Latin speaking public causing a combination of the two types distinguished above. There may be some truth in this view, and Charisius' *ars* would well serve those needs, but De Nonno neglects the possible dependence of Charisius on earlier sources, a subject we will turn to in the next section.

A completely different subject but closely related to the theme of this section concerns the insistence of Charisius in his preface to his son on the criteria of correct Latin. Why this anxiety? The answer to this question will cause us to examine the attitude of the grammarian to his tradition, a role which in our case is similar to that of an amateur of language (see section a). Kaster has written some fine pages on this subject,[50] and I am happy to quote him. Charisius and other authors of grammars were "guardians of language", and had great respect for the tradition. Moreover, from the second/third century century onwards a return to the language of the *veteres* was going on, and these centuries saw the rise of archaism in literature. Apart from this aspect, ancient grammarians of this period and later felt no need to reject the traditional approach and try to find new ways. Their way of doing grammar had proved to be successful and could be continued without harm. This does not imply that innovations were forbidden, and on minor points one can point to some

---

[50] Kaster 1988, 196–7.

innovative ideas,[51] but on the whole the groundwork had been done and one could be satisfied with this achievement. As Kaster says, "From this point of view, the grammar's failure to evolve is not attributable to some failure of nerve or intelligence, but it is a measure of its success". This attitude is the reverse of the modern one, where the continuing mission of research is "to boldly go where no-one has gone before".

Charisius' son needs to have a good knowledge of Latin in view of the prominent position of Latin in the Roman imperial system. Throughout the Empire officials had to communicate in Latin and one's career was also dependent on one's ability to write letters, make addresses, and in general to communicate in this language. Hence the need of knowing Latin grammar. Related to this requirement is that of expressing one's thoughts in an acceptable and agreeable way,[52] but that part belongs to the instructions of the rhetorician, not the grammarian, and therefore Charisius passes it over in his preface.

g. *Charisius and his sources*

Charisius mentions by name three authors as sources, Cominianus, Palaemon, and Romanus. He also used other works, but these are indicated by *alii* only, and they remain anonymous to us.[53] We can safely place C. Iulius Romanus between 250 and 320, whereas Cominianus must have had his *floruit* about 330. Palaemon, to all appearances the famous grammarian Q. Remmius Palaemon of the first century A.D.,[54] lived several centuries earlier. It would be surprising if Charisius had personally known and inspected Palaemon's grammar and excerpted it, but the idea is still feasible. However, research done by Barwick, and before him by Jeep and Boelte,[55] has shown that Charisius, the Anonymus Bobiensis and Dositheus go back to one common source, Charisius directly, the other two indirectly

---

[51] I am thinking of Hovdhaugen 1986 on developments in the theory of the gender of the verb in the grammatical tradition.

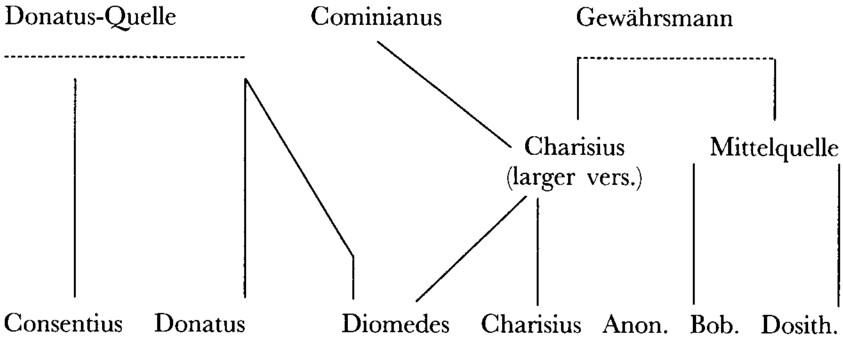
[52] Calboli 1991 and Dammer 2002, 14–5.

[53] With the exception of 241.20 ff., where Palaemon was used (see note 41).

[54] Schottmueller 1858 thought of another grammarian, also called Palaemon, who lived closer to Charisius' time. But after Tolkiehn 1910a and Barwick 1922 this view has no longer been taken seriously.

[55] Jeep 1893, 1–13 and 1896; Boelte 1886, 48–52.

via a shortened intermediate source. Barwick calls this source "der Gewährsmann der Charisius-Gruppe".[56] Originally, Charisius' *ars* was larger (as Jeep avers), and this version was used by Diomedes, as was the so-called Donatus-Quelle. This hypothetical work is represented for us by Donatus and Consentius. The following scheme brings these views together:



We may forget the left-hand side of the scheme, for this is not relevant here.[57] Moreover, the dependence of Diomedes on Charisius may well have been more extensive than Barwick suggests,[58] and there is no reason to to accept the hypothesis of the existence of a *Charisius plenior* used by Diomedes.[59] Of more interest to our discussion is the "Gewährsmann".[60] Undoubtedly, there must have been a common source for the members of the Charisius group, for the many parallels between them, which Barwick conscientiously lists for each subject, cannot be explained as being due to dependence from Charisius' text only, even in a larger version. Such a conclusion is forbidden by their differences. So Charisius must have used a text with many similarities to his own, that of the common source, i.e. the "Gewährsmann".

Now Barwick (1922, 64–6) has also drawn attention to the two ways Charisius has of introducing or referring to his source mater-

[56] Barwick 1922, 7, 9, 15, 37, 61–2.
[57] It has come under heavy fire from Holtz 1981, 82–5.
[58] Schmidt § 524. A and, especially, Dammer 2001, 43–9 *et al.*
[59] Dammer 2001, *passim.*
[60] A good English equivalent of the German word "Gewährsmann" seems not to exist, both "spokesman" and "informant, authority" having a different meaning. Of course, what Barwick means by "Gewährsmann" is what other scholars would call "Quelle", "source".

ial: on the one hand there is a group of phrases containing *definit* or *placuit definire* (= *disserere*). All these phrases introduce either parts from Palaemon or from *alii*, and according to Barwick because of their parallels with other grammars these go back to the grammar of his "Gewährsmann".[61] In the other group the introductory or concluding phrases have the verb forms *ait, refert, inquit, disseruit* or *placuit disserere*, and here appear the names of Cominianus and Romanus.[62] This difference between the use of *definire* on the one hand and that of *refert* etc. on the other, looks to be too significant to ignore and it has helped Barwick to differentiate between the sources used by Charisius. The *refert*-group is his own contribution, but the *definit*-group comes from his "Gewährsmann". The latter will have been his teacher, as Barwick (62–3) suggests, because at 245.7–9 Charisius alludes to his putting words like *quot, tot, aliquot* and *quotquot* under the *aptota*. This, he says "we have done, *secuti praecepta magistri nostri. Alii inter pronomina posuerunt*". This reference to his own view concerns 41.1–3, in a part that originates from the "Gewährsmann". So far Barwick's argument. He does not mention that in 41.1 the term *monoptota* is employed, whereas in 245.7–9 *aptota* is used, a word that in its Greek form at 41.12 is used in a slightly different sense, but the difference is not significant enough to invalidate Barwick's conclusion.[63] Other arguments about the identification of this man with Charisius' teacher are less striking and persuasive, such as that in not identifying his master by name Charisius apparently folllows a custom that was quite favoured in late antiquity (1922, 62 n. 1). In an indirect way Barwick at the same time disapproves of an identification of Charisius' main source with Cominianus, as had been argued by Tolkiehn.[64]

This argument of Barwick has been countered by weighty objections. In his review of Barwick's edition of Charisius Tolkiehn (1927)

---

[61] 9.6; 11.24; 146.29; 214.26; 290.12; 299.14; 350.24; 352.32; 380.20. Interestingly, in all references to Palaemon we find *Palaemon definit* and in those to *alii* stands *aliis definire placuit.*

[62] 66.8; 75.21; 145.21; 146.25; 149.21; 203.25; 214.7; 225.24; 232.9; 233.24; 246.18; 289.19; 296.13; 297.26; 298.1; 307.17; 311.2; 311.3; 311.14. Here we may make a similar observation: the two references to *alii* stand in the form *aliis placuit disserere*, and those to Cominianus and Romanus have *refert, ait, inquit* or *disseruit.*

[63] In 41.12 the Greek term ἄπτωτα refers to words like *causa* and *sponte* which occur in one case only, e.g. an ablative, and in a specific meaning. In these words the case is identifiable, but not in *quot* and its related terms.

[64] Tolkiehn 1910a, 134 ff.

defends his own view and Schmidt (§ 523.1 Lit. 2) supports him. The latter has three arguments (§ 523.1 Lit. 2): (1) When Charisius quotes Cominianus in order to set him against other views, he usually puts him in first place; (2) in the archetype of the medieval tradition of Charisius' text Charisius appears as Cominianus. This may well have come about because Cominianus was mentioned at the start of book I; when the preface was omitted (as happens in a great part of the tradition) Cominianus was taken as the author; (3) The literal agreement between many passages of Charisius and Dositheus "spricht für sich". This fact cannot be well explained by supposing that Charisius replaced some parts of the elementary grammar in the text of his "Gewährsmann" by the analogous parts from Cominianus' work, as Barwick asserts.[65]

The views of Tolkiehn and Schmidt have the advantage of not burdening scholars with another unknown source, i.e. the "Gewährsmann", and keeping to known persons. Moreover, when rereading the pages of Barwick in regard to those elementary parts of the "Schulgrammatik" of this source which for unknown reasons Charisius often replaced by the analogous parts from Cominianus' work, one cannot but think that Barwick presented the situation in an unduly complex way. So the solution that Cominianus' *ars* was the main source for Charisius is very attractive. This solution is also being proposed by Bonnet, who compared specific parts of Charisius' treatment of the verb and the participle with the relevant portion of Dositheus' grammar and concluded that Cominianus played a significant role in transmitting the theory given at these places.[66] Dammer used a similar method of comparing parts of Charisius with analogous portions of Diomedes and has come to the same conclusion.[67]

However, several objections should be answered before finally accepting this solution. The first objection concerns the differences listed above between introductory phrases. If Cominianus is identical to Barwick's "Gewährsmann", we must suppose that these differences are not meaningful in a Barwickian sense. Cominianus could very well have taken over passages originating from Palaemon from his source and introduced them by *Palaemon definit.* Charisius quoted from Cominianus, who on this view has become his teacher, by

[65] Barwick 1922, 16–7; 27–8; 32 and 63–4.
[66] Bonnet 2000.
[67] Dammer 2001, 167–72, 180–2, *et al.*

means of *disseruit* and similar expressions. The only remaining difference, that between *aliis placuit definire* and *aliis placuit disserere*, can then be explained by means of the idea of arbitrariness or wish for variety. Another objection might well be that if Cominianus is identical to the "Gewährsmann", why does Charisius not mention his name more often? Here we must observe that (1) Charisius only refers to his "Gewährsmann" once (see above) and—what is more important—, we must look at the places where he does mention Cominianus. The list is found above (section c at the end). Charisius only mentions the name when parts from other sources follow or (twice only) come before those from Cominianus. In other words, in those cases Charisius could well have wished to distinguish the contribution of his teacher from that of others. It is quite possible that many other passages which Barwick assigned to his "Gewährsmann" also come from Cominianus, but it seems presumptuous and in view of earlier attempts dangerous to state this possibility as proven. Thus, I agree with Tolkiehn, Schmidt and Bonnet and accept Cominianus as the main source of Charisius.[68]

At any rate, the additions from Cominianus (the more elementary parts) and those from Romanus (the more scholarly parts) are by Charisius. Those from Palaemon and the unknown *alii* he will have taken over from the *ars* of Cominianus, which must have been structured in a way similar to his own work and had the same properties of putting together source materials next to one another. The view that on his own initiative Charisius used Romanus' treatise as a source has been accepted by almost all scholars from the nineteenth century onwards. Exceptions are Jeep and Tolkiehn, who argue that the parts from Romanus were added later, because Diomedes does not use these parts.[69] However, Barwick had already pointed out that the additions from Cominianus and Romanus are always introduced by the same terms (see above) and, therefore, make later addition improbable.[70] To this argument I may add that sometimes phrases used by Romanus recur in contexts where Charisius himself is speaking.[71]

---

[68] Mazhuga 1998 has argued that Diomedes' *ars* was a main source for Charisius and now at a conference at Lyon (April 2002) has suggested that Diomedes was Charisius' *magister*.

[69] Jeep 1893 and 1896; Tolkiehn 1907.

[70] This argument does not entail acceptance of Barwick's conclusion, see above.

[71] E.g. in the *praefatio*.

A final word about the unidentified *alii.* In notes 26–7 I observed that in contrast with the references to Palaemon, Cominianus, and Romanus those to the *alii* are eight out of nine times in the form of *aliis ita placuit definire* or *disserere.*[72] I have the impression that this formulation implies that the authors of these phrases (Cominianus and Charisius) not only did not know who these "others" were but were not really bothered by this lack of knowledge. I cannot prove this assertion but the fact of a striking expression still stands.

h. *Beyond Cominianus and Charisius*

After discussing the "Schulgrammatik" he had tracked in Charisius and other grammars and finding its origins in the Stoic τέχνη περὶ φωνῆς,[73] Barwick goes on to trace many parts of Charisius' text to their original authors. One is Palaemon, to whom he attributes many more parts than Charisius does; the others are Pansa (first cent. B.C./A.D.) and Flavius Caper, who wrote a book called *De latinitate* about 200 A.D. In the third part of his book Barwick summarises his findings and reconstructs the history of the Roman grammar.

Scholars have judged Barwick's ascriptions and reconstructions in different ways. At first most of them were impressed by his results and almost everyone agreed with them.[74] Gradually resistance appeared and more and more scepticism was expressed. However, nowadays too without doing much research one can come come across respectful references to Barwick's reconstruction of the history of the Roman linguistic studies of the first centuries A.D. as being the last word to be said on this subject.[75] For this reason alone, I must spend some space on this matter, although it is not immediately germane to the main subject of this study.[76]

As to Palaemon, Suetonius tells us that he was a successful grammarian under Tiberius and Quintilian refers to him as one of those

---

72 The exception is 214.26 *Breviter autem et apertius ab aliis significatio verborum definita est.*
73 See Schenkeveld 1990 for doubts on this part about the origins.
74 Wessner 1922, 1177–87; Howald 1922, 204; Lammert 1931, 43–7.
75 Zetzel 1981, 201.
76 Notwithstanding my severe criticism I agree with Kaster's judgement: "still important is Barwick, *RP*, a brilliant essay in conjectural reconstruction that can be read with profit even by those who do not accept all its premises and conclusions" (Kaster 1995, 231).

grammarians who distinguished eight parts of speech.[77] Only four fragments of his work are known: the three in Charisius' *ars* in chh. 14–16 on conjunctions, prepositions, and interjections, to which one may add the part on the adverbs in II.13 (see section c), and one in Consentius *GL* V 375.8 on the moods of verbs. In the parts found in Charisius Schottmüller[78] had already detected a remarkable usage of *velut*. For it is only used when Palaemon introduces single words or phrases made up by himself, not quotations from authors. With the help of this criterion Schottmüller then found other parts employing the same usage and ascribed these to Palaemon also.[79] This criterion was rejected by Jeep, Nettleship and Tolkiehn,[80] who pointed to this usage in parts not traceable to Palaemon,[81] but Barwick (112–3) fully accepts it as such. In the parts containing *velut* and therefore ascribed by Schotmüller to Palaemon he finds peculiar terminology, such as *ordo* for classes of declension and conjugation, *incusativus* (= *accusativus*), *qualitas* (= *modus*), *instans tempus* (= *praesens tempus*). This terminology, he says, is also *partly* (my italics) present in the three chapters given by Charisius to Palaemon, which chapters undoubtedly belong to Palaemon. At this point Barwick is guilty, I am afraid, of applying a circular argument, but he goes on to attribute many other chapters to Palaemon, such as those on the verb (II.9–10 and book III). Things get still worse when he has to save his attributions by supposing that very often Palaemonian terminology has been replaced by non-Palaemonian and *vice versa*.[82] Even for the parts ascribed to Palaemon in three chapters II.14–6 he is forced to accept this saving device.[83]

---

[77] Suetonius, *De grammaticis et rhetoribus* 23; Quintilian 1.4.20. See Kaster 1995, 229–31.

[78] Schottmueller 1858.

[79] Because of the occurrence in these parts of a quotation from Pliny the Elder Schotmüller thought not of the Palaemon of the Augustan period but of another, completely unknown grammarian, also called Palaemon. No one takes this solution seriously any more (see note 54).

[80] Jeep 1896; Nettleship 1886 and Tolkiehn 1910a. Kap. 1.

[81] It occurs in parts where Pliny the Elder uses it in the same way as Palaemon, e.g. 159.17; 169.2; 182.1, 264.13, all from Romanus, who also has it 183.2.

[82] For instance Barwick 1922, 118; 126; 131 and 135.

[83] The same device is applied to the fourth fragment of Palaemon, Consentius 375.6 ff. There one may moreover think that Consentius, not Palaemon, is speaking again from *at quae coniunctiva, non eadem et optativi* onwards. At any rate, the theory about subjunctive and optative forms in the perfect and future remains the same throughout Roman grammar and cannot be regarded as typically Palaemonian. See e.g. Scaglione 1970, ch. II and Serbat 1978.

On the basis of these doubtful attributions Barwick sketches Palaemon's linguistic theory and his enormous influence on later grammarians, especially the "Schulgrammatik" (147–156). In this connection it is important to note that according to Barwick Palaemon distinguished four *ordines declinationis*, and four *ordines coniugationis*, and used terms like *instans tempus, finitivus* (see above). However, later grammarians very often distinguish five *declinationes*, and three *coniugationes*, the third one being split up into two classes, and the specifically Palaemonian terminology is not used at all!

For all these reasons, it is evident that Barwick's reconstruction and attribution are not trustworthy at all, and we must maintain a *non liquet* on the matter of Palaemon's part in our corpus of Latin grammars.[84]

More untenable still is Barwick's view about the role of the grammarian Pansa in Charisius' material. There was a grammarian, called Crassicius Pasicles, who was born about 70 B.C. as a slave and about 30 B.C. taught Iullus Antonius, son of Mark Antony. But he suddenly gave up his job of a grammarian and joined the *secta Q. Sexti philosophi.* When he was emancipated, he called himself *Pansa*, as Suetonius (*de gramm.* 18) tells us.

In I.15, a curious chapter about the endings of nouns and related matters, F. Boelte had detected three sources, the first one of which is characterised by the use of *venire in* for 'to end in'.[85] This expression is said to be almost unique in Latin grammar and to be found again only in Char. 25.11–26.6 (a section on words ending in—*an*) and its parallel in Char. 183.27–31. The latter passage comes from Pliny, but as he uses the expression nowhere else but instead of it those with *finire, terminare*, the wording *venire in* must come from Pliny's own source. Accordingly, Boelte's "erste Quelle" must be older than Pliny. Now the passage about *-an* deals with the problem of the plural accusative of words like *Titan.* It says that it is wrong to maintain that this case must be *Titanas*, for accusatives in *-as* can only be made from nouns in *-a*, such as *hic Pansa, hos Pansas, hic Catilina, hos Catilinas* (25.21–2). With a reference to the well-known "Gramma-

---

[84] Similar conclusions have been reached by Baratin 1989, 149–66 in a very detailed treatment of Barwick's argument concerning Charisius III.8 (347.1–349.15) and related parts.

[85] Boelte 1888, 401 ff.

tikersitte" to give one's own name as an example Barwick identifies the author of the first source with Pansa. This grammarian is also quoted in Consentius 378.24.[86]

The identification was doubted by Dam and demolished by Mazzarino.[87] The first argument of the latter focuses on a chronological problem: At 76.18, a passage attributed to Pansa by Barwick, the author says: [. . .] *aliquid tamen auctoritati Vergilii nostri tribuendum est.* It is improbable that about 30 B.C. Vergil had already achieved such an *auctoritas.* Secondly, and more importantly, the name *Pansa* may well refer to the historical person M. Vibius Pansa, who was consul together with A. Hirtius in 43 B.C. This is the more probable because of the collocation of this name with that of *Catilina* at 25.21–2. I can add to these arguments that the expression *venire in* in connection with word ending is not as rare as Barwick says. It also occurs at 180.25–6 and 241.29. Moreover, this combination is very common in Charisius with other terms, e.g. *venire in communionem* (84.27, cp. 29.4); *in eandem significationem* (331.11); *in conlationem* (199.15).

Finally, there is Barwick's attribution of large parts of Charisius to Fl. Caper, author of a large work called *De latinitate* and other treatises.[88] In his case we have much more material outside Charisius' work than for Palaemon and Pansa; in particular Priscian gives a lot of fragments. Boelte (*o.c.*) had distinguished three sources in Charisius I.15, but refrained from assigning the third one to a specific author. Barwick, however, compared passages from this source with passages from other artigraphers, "bei denen nachweislich Capersches Eigentum vorliegt".[89] The list of parallels is impressively long (almost 4 pages!) and brings Barwick to the conclusion that the author of the third source is none other than Caper. He explains why the name of Caper is not found in I.15 thus: "Der Kompilator des Kapitels hat eben, nach einer weitverbreiteten Grammatikersitte, gerade die von ihm ausgeschriebenen Autoren nicht genannt. Dagegen wird innerhalb der dritten Quelle häufig erwähnt Plinius [. . .] ferner Verrius Flaccus.

---

[86] Barwick 1922, 167–9.

[87] Dam 1920, 44 note 1. Mazzarino 1948, 200–22, approved by De Nonno 1993, 638, n. 114. See also the verdict of Kaster 1995, 197: "For liberal speculation on these hypothetical writings see Tolkiehn, *PhW* 31 (1911), 412 ff. and Barwick, *RP* 167 ff.".

[88] See the latest discussion in Schmidt § 438.

[89] Barwick 1922,191 ff.

Beide Grammatiker scheinen aber zu den Hauptquellen Capers gehört zu haben."[90] He finds confirmation of his identification in I.17 (*de analogia ut ait Romanus*). There many parallels with I.15 γ occur,[91] and Caper is mentioned several times in these parallel passages.

Here too, some objections to Barwick's method are in order. In the first place, it seems somewhat rash to assign all similarities between I.15 γ and other Latin grammars to Caper alone, just because he was so often used. In this connection I note that out of 25 passages where Priscian calls Caper by name, two only show some similarity in contents, and not in quotations, to passages in I.15.[92] Further, to apply the argument of a well known "Grammatikersitte" of not naming one's sources is very special pleading: the compiler of I.15 uses Palaemon, Pansa and Caper as his sources and therefore he does not give their names. But Caper uses Pliny and Verrius Flaccus and does identify them, Priscianus explicitly calls Apollonius Dyscolus and Herodian his main sources for books XVII–XVIII, and Charisius names his source Romanus many times.[93] Thirdly, it should be pointed out that not all of Barwick's parallels between Charisius I.15 γ and those passages in Priscian which apparently come from Caper but do not mention Caper (± 20) are in fact parallels.[94] Finally, as to I.17 and the occurrence of Caper's name, it does indeed occur four times. However, Boelte (p. 426) had already pointed out that, while Caper is mentioned four times, seven other late grammarians are also referred to, including, on four occasions, Helenius Acron. He had also observed that Pliny the Elder brings in 135 lemmata, other identifiable grammarians, Caper included, only 16 times and anonymous grammarians 35 times. Thus, is Caper the source of I.15 γ? One may well doubt this attribution. At any rate the argumentation of Barwick is ill-founded.

I do not suggest that in this case Barwick's views are totally wrong and had better be neglected in the same way as for his conclusion about Pansa. As I mentioned above, Caper is much closer in time

---

[90] Barwick 1922, 196.

[91] Chapter I.15 goes back to at least three sources, called by Mazzarino by the first three letters of the Greek alphabet.

[92] Char. 94.21 ~ Priscian II.163.11, 260.17 and Char. 129.17–130.17 ~ Priscian II.212.4.

[93] See also Tolkiehn 1916.

[94] I only point to the alleged parallels between Char. 104.8 ~ Priscian II.215.15 ff. and Char. 134.1 ~ Priscian II.169.15.

to Iulius Romanus, Cominianus, and Charisius; moreover, we have much more definite indications about his influence, e.g. on Priscian. Therefore, there is a better chance that (some of) Barwick's conclusions will prove to be right when scholars re-examine this matter.[95]

i. *The preface again*

We are now in a position to come back to the questions put forward in the second section, ones which concern not only the structure of this *ars*, but even more its purpose and audience.

For a large part the structure of Charisius' work was determined by his source, the *ars* of his teacher, Cominianus (section g), a book that was itself already a compilation. This source had the structure of the *ars grammatica* type (section f) with its focus on the parts of speech after first giving definitions and then dealing with stylistics. However, it also already had some features of the *regulae* type, for not all chapters betraying this origin were brought in by Charisius alone. Charisius also took over from his teacher the didactic method of gradual transition from simple material to more difficult subjects (section e), but the introduction of a third source, Romanus, is his own contribution (section h).

A short grammar, a "Schulgrammatik", such as described above (section f) would not have been enough for his son, for the boy was not a native speaker of this language. Therefore, a larger one was called for, and this was made more useful by what he had taken from the grammars of the *regulae* type. In this way the boy could indeed come to an understanding of the four criteria of correct Latin, referred to in the preface. These new contributions had the additional advantage of containing many parallels with the Greek language, probably—but no more than probably—the boy's native tongue.

This additional material does not facilitate the reading and learning of the contents. In view of the didactic intention found to be present in this *ars*, it is a reasonable conclusion that although ostensibly written for his son, Charisius meant the boy's teacher to use it as a handbook to aid his lessons. If so, the function of this book as a "livre de maître" is comparable to that of treatises written by schoolmasters themselves.

---

95 Some remarks in De Nonno 1993, 638, n. 136.

The approach to grammatical matters was heavily influenced by the tradition of several centuries, and like other authors, Charisius must have felt no urge to try a different, novel one (see section f).

The work may well have been composed in Constantinople, or some other city of the Eastern part of the Empire. At any rate, it would serve well the needs of a non-Latin public (sections a and f).

The value of Charisius' *ars* to us is the result of the compilatory work he has done. Without this work our idea of the structure and contents of the *ars grammatica* type would not have been completely different, but our knowledge of earlier grammatical theories would be considerably less. Moreover, because of his taking over much of Romanus' work we now have a considerable amount of quotations from early Latin poetry, as Warmington's *Remains of Old Latin* (Loeb series) testifies. The next chapter will deal with this Romanus.

CHAPTER TWO

C. IULIUS ROMANUS

a. *Date and profession*

C. Iulius Romanus is known to us thanks to Charisius only, who took over large parts from Romanus' work. His lifetime is therefore to be placed before that of Charisius, who wrote in 360–362. Because Romanus quotes Apuleius and other authors of the second century, we also have a *terminus post quem.*[1]

Fortunately, there are some indications that allow us to be more precise.[2] One is drawn from Romanus' references at 262.10–11 and 297.8–9 to Marcius Salutaris, where he is given the rank of *vir perfectissimus.* Because the name is not common, this Salutaris may be identified with a man of the same name known from papyri, who in 244/48 had the rank of *vir egregius.* No title of a book by Marcius Salutaris is given by Romanus, and he may well have been one of his friends. On these suppositions Romanus must have been alive after 250, when Salutaris had been promoted to a higher rank.[3]

This inference fits in very well with another indication. At 251.22–252.2 Romanus quotes from a book περὶ κατηγοριῶν of a certain Ἀκύλας (lat. *Aquila*). I have argued elsewhere that this Aquila is the same as the neoplatonic philosopher Aquila who is known together with his teacher (?) Evagoras from Syrianus's commentary on περὶ στάσεων of Hermogenes and other sources, and whom I placed in the third century. This identification would put Romanus' activities about 270 A.D.[4]

---

[1] Unfortunately I have been unable to consult I. Taifacos, *C. Iulius Romanus*, a Ph.D. thesis written under the supervision of A.C. Dionisotti and defended in 1985 in London, for more than ten minutes. As far as I could see, it contains no discussion pertinent to my main subject.

[2] Before these indications had been noticed, Romanus' lifetime was put at the end of the second/beginning of the third century. Thus Froehde 1892a, 671–2. Tolkiehn, *RE* X.1 (1918), 788–9 was more pessimistic: "Die Zeit des Grammatikers entzieht sich jeder näheren Bestimmung".

[3] Stein 1928. See also Kaster 1988, 424–5.

[4] Schenkeveld 1991. See also Pernot 1989. Pernot's reluctance to accept my

Charisius calls Romanus *disertissimus artis scriptor* (307.17) and several times mentions his work by its title (see section b). This designation needs not imply that Romanus was a grammarian. Because of Romanus' own formulation at 164.30–165.7, where he rejects a view of grammarians (*licet grammatici velint*) in favour of one of Pliny the Elder, Kaster suggests that Romanus was not a grammarian by profession.[5] In that case he was one of the many amateurs interested in Latin language, such as Pliny the Elder. Kaster's suggestion is, however, subject to objections, for at 150.30–4 Romanus does the same, but now the opinion of Fl. Caper (who was a grammarian himself!) is preferred to that of *grammatici*.[6]

The statement *hodieque nostri per Campaniam sic locuntur* (279.1–2) in the long list of adverbs taken from Romanus' work (Charisius II.13) may well imply that he lived in Italy. We have a similar statement at 251.8–10 about the usual forms of some adverbs in the region of Picenum. But these references to dialects may have been taken over from Pliny the Elder, who has one on the Umbrian dialect (see commentary *a.l.*).

b. *His work: title, structure and type*

The list of Charisius' references to Romanus' work is as follows (those to a book with the same title have been grouped together):

(1) 301.17 *[. .], ut Romanus, disertissimus artis scriptor, refert.*

(2) 70.8 *Romanus autem in libro de analogia VII refert sic.*
(3) 62.22 *plenius autem de analogia in sequentibus* (sc. in I.17) *Romanum disseruisse invenies.*
(4) 145.21 *Romanus libro de analogia ita inquit.*

---

identification of Syrianus' Aquila (Aquila A) with Romanus' Aquila (D) has to do with my interpretation of the phrase ἤκουσα δὲ ἐγώ ποτε ἀνδρὸς σοφοῦ [. . .] γνώμην ἀποφαινομένου κτλ. in Himerius, *Or.* 74.4. The phrase was taken by B. Keil, Zwei Identifikationen, *Hermes* 42,1907, 548–61 as proof that Himerius had personally heard the man he is speaking about, who is also mentioned by Syrianus in connection with Evagoras and Aquila. On the basis of many parallels, however (see Schenkeveld 1992), I think that Himerius is saying that he had read the man's statement somewhere.

[5] Kaster 1988, # 249.

[6] At 168.23 ff. Romanus is derogatory (*quid est quod grammatici definiunt [. . .]? videre non possum [. . . .]*); at 185.2 and 278.17 not at all; one may doubt about 182.19 (*grammatici putaverunt*).

(5) 149.21 *De analogia, ut ait Romanus* (title of chapter I.17).
(6) 150.2–3 *[. . .] contenti paucis, quae exempli gratia Gaius Iulius Romanus sub eodem titulo exposuit* (*sub eodem titulo* refers to *de analogia*).

(7) 246.18 *C. Iulius Romanus ita refert de adverbio sub titulo ἀφορμῶν.*
(8) 146.25 *[. . .], ut Romanus refert in libro de adverbiis sub eodem titulo* (the reference is to 267.1–5).

(9) 297.26 *[. . .] de quibus plenius C. Iulius Romanus libro ἀφορμῶν sub titulo de coniunctione disseruit.*

(10) 307.17 *Gaius Iulius Romanus de praepositione libro ἀφορμῶν ita refert.*
(11) 310.27 *[. . .] de quibus plenius idem Iulius Romanus libro ἀφορμῶν sub titulo de praepositione disseruit.*

(12) 310.14 *C. Iulius Romanus ita refert* (on the interjection).

(13) 332.20 *[. .] sed C. Iulius Romanus ea verba idiomata appellavit, quae dativum recipiunt, velut noceo tibi.*[7]

By referring to other parts of his book Romanus himself provides additional information:

(14) 169.18 *[. . .] ut de consortiis casuum diximus.*
(15) 172.4 *[. . .] quod περὶ ὀρθογραφίας congruit quaestionibus copulare* (*quod* refers to the question whether one should say *laterale* or *laterare*).
(16) 271.22 *Si quis autem eius rei vellet rationem penitus invisere, de consortio praepositionum, quem adaeque sub titulo ἀφορμῶν dedimus, legere non gravetur* (in view of *quem* we must add *librum* before *de consortio praepositionum*).
(17) 297.7 *[. . .], ut de distinctionibus diximus.*

Text (15) has been interpreted as referring to a book by Romanus on orthography, but because of the absence of any form like *diximus*, which we find in the three other references to his own work, we have here nothing more than a remark of Romanus that such questions about *laterale* and *laterare* belong to discussions which have to do with orthography.

From these data we may infer that the title of Romanus' work was either *Libri ἀφορμῶν* or 'Αφορμαί. The latter title looks more

[7] No relevant information from passages such as 66.8 *Romanus 'poematis' refert* or 75.20 *Romanus ita refert* (references to 177.11 and 174.3–14 respectively).

acceptable in view of other Greek titles given by Roman authors to their books (see later on).[8] There is no reason to suppose that the full title was Ἀφορμαί *sive de analogia*, as Schmidt (§ 439.1) thinks, although the title of the book of L. Caesellius Vindex, Στρωματεῖς *sive Commentaria lectionum antiquarum* (Schmidt § 434) would be a nice parallel in this case and Romanus used this work (e.g. 150.12). However, the theory of analogy has an important place in *de analogia* only, a smaller one in *de adverbio* and none at all in the remaining chapters. The work (*liber*) with the title (*titulus*) Ἀφορμαί contains several books (*liber*), which have titles (*titulus*) such as *de coniunctione*. The separate books contain lemmata (*titulus*); for the use of the latter word see 76.3 ~ 180.12 ff.

Because of text (2) *in libro de analogia VII*[9] we must say that this work of Romanus consisted of at least seven books (although see further on). It is not necessary to assume with Froehde and Della Casa[10] that the title *de consortio praepositionum* (text 16) points to a different book from that called *de praepositione* (text 10). In text (10) Charisius refers for more examples of *praepositiones pro aliis apud veteres auctores interpositae* to the book called *de praepositione*, and *consortium praepositionum* is Romanus' term for the kind of phenomena Charisius refers to. In his preface to *de adverbio* (246.19 ff.) Romanus also speaks of *consortium adverbiorum* and we do not hear about a separate book on this subject.[11] If one accepts this explanation, the title *de consortio casuum* (text 14) must refer to a part of a book on the nouns, called *de nomine*. As to *de distinctionibus* (text 17), the term refers to matters of punctuation, and according to Barwick (*RP* 153) there was a chapter *de distinctione* in the "Schulgrammatik". The passages when Romanus uses *distinctio* (text 17 and 313.18–24) make one suppose that he took advantage of the presence of such a chapter to speak about passages from the *veteres* where the right punctuation will help in understanding

---

[8] In Latin one cannot say e.g. **in libro* ἀφορμαί; in these case the genitive after *liber* (*libri*) is necessary. Cp. e.g. Pliny the Elder, *N.H.*, *praefatio* 33 *Valerius Soranus in libris, quos ἐποπτίδων inscripsit*.

[9] This number is not found in Ms. N but in Cauchius' annotations in his copy of the *editio princeps* from a manuscript now lost (see Barwick 1924, Schmidt § 523.2 C and my Appendix I). It is not in Keil's text, and therefore not mentioned by Froehde. But see Keil, *GL* I, p. 608.

[10] Froehde 1892a, 654 and Della Casa 1978, 223–4.

[11] Froehde *l.l.* mentions this possibility but apparently rejects it.

them. Finally, text (13) implies that Romanus also discussed verbs, presumably in a chapter entitled *de verbo.*[12]

Thus Romanus seems to have written on nouns, verbs, adverbs, prepositions, and interjections, and on punctuation. The list suggests that in his work he treated all the parts of speech, and that Charisius made a selection only. Then a parallel with the common *ars grammatica* type (see ch. I. section f) is obvious, and so one might approve of Schmidt's reconstruction of the "Makrostruktur" of the 'Αφορμαί: "Nach T.2 (= my text 2), DMS) waren die Formdifferenzen der Nominalflexion ab A erst in B. 7 behandelt. Der Raum davor darf plausibel etwa so gefüllt werden: B. 1 Einleitung (p. 149 f. [on analogy, DMS] und Grundbegriffe (etwa *de distinctione* = Interpunktion, 297, 7), B. 2 Interjektion, B. 3 Konjunktion, B. 4 Präposition (und *de consortio praepositionum*, 271, 20 ff.), B. 5 Adverb [. .], B. 6 *de consortio casuum* (mindestens zwei Bücher für Nominal- und Pronominalflexion, und je etwa eins für das Verbum und die ausleitende Metrik, mindestens also 10 Bücher. Die Bücher bzw. Büchergruppen waren durch Vorreden mit z.T. sprachphilosophischer Tendenz eingeleitet." (pp. 236–7).

This supposed structure is a curious one, in so far as the minor parts of speech come first, and the important ones at the end. Moreover, a book on the participle is missing, whereas it is a part of speech of its own. But the first objection about the structure has more weight. I cannot think of any valid reason why Romanus would have chosen this order. Of course, the indication in text (2) determines Schmidt's reconstruction but it leads him into difficulties. Therefore, I have great sympathy for an ingenious suggestion of Taifacos.[13] Because text (2) is the only one with a book number, the number looks suspect. Taifacos proposes to read [<X>]VII and explains it thus: VII comes from Cauchius[14] and is what remains of the number XVII, "a gloss of a reader to remind himself that the excerpts from Romanus' discussion *de analogia* were contained in the seventeenth chapter of the present book of Charisius". One can add that

---

[12] Froehde in particular has tried to assign more passages from Charisius to Romanus, e.g. from I.15 (*de extrematibus nominum*), but this is a very tricky method and its results are very questionable, as Wessner 1902, 148–52 has said. So, I leave aside any passage that in style or contents may remind one of Romanus but is not attributed to him explicitly.

[13] Taifacos 1983.

[14] See ch. 1, note 27.

the word-order (*in libro de analogia VII*) is very odd and increases one's doubts on the reliability of the number. Taifacos' suggestion takes away a serious problem, although it raises another one having to do with the absence of similar glosses in the manuscripts of Charisius.[15]

But when we look at the introductions to the four parts we have and the contents of these chapters we form the impression of a book different from one of the *ars grammatica* type. All the introductions (that to *de coniunctione* is missing) have their own peculiarities which make them different from the usual introductions. The least abnormal is that to *de interiectione* (311.14–312.2) when compared to the two foregoing ones from Cominianus and Palaemon, and in all three the definition and the examples are almost the same. But Romanus makes the learned observation that interjections have the status of πάθος, not ἦθος, that is to say, they excite the strong passions, not the gentle ones.[16] Nevertheless, one can observe, he adds, that authors characterised as ἠθικοί[17] use these words in order to excite passion, albeit in a moderate way. Is this the correct way to introduce a discussion on interjections? Diomedes and Donatus do it differently. Moreover, the list of interjections is a list of rather obscure interjections taken from the *veteres*.

The introductory section to *de praepositione* (307.17–310.14) is also like the usual ones in so far as it gives an inventory of prepositions which are in use as such, and discusses their use as preposition and/or as prefix. At the end it says that prepositions can assimilate their final letter or drop it when used as a prefix, to put it into modern terms. However, Romanus starts this section with a learned quotation from Suetonius Tranquillus about the number of prepositions in Greek, and his inventory of prepositions contains some peculiar ones, such as *oc, prode* and *uls.* It immediately contains one reference to the *veteres* (309.3). Palaemon's discussion is much more informative, and explains the various meanings of prepositions. All this Romanus leaves aside. His list is once again focused on the usage

---

[15] I fail to understand Schmidt's riposte (§ 439.1, Lit. 2) that a title Ἀφορμαί *sive De analogia*, which follows from a combination of texts (2) and (3), would make Taifacos' scepticism about the book number and his emendation superfluous.

[16] See for this distinction Cic., *Orator* 128 and Quint. 6.2.9.

[17] In *TLL* s.v. *ethicus* it is suggested that orators are meant. In view of the many times ἐν ἤθει, ἠθικῶς, as well as *moraliter* are used in Donatus' commentaries on Terentius (cp. also Charisius-Romanus 315.3–12) Romanus, I think, is referring to comic poets, who though expected to use lighter interjections also have the stronger ones, more apt to tragedians. See also Sluiter 1990, 180–1.

of prepositions by the *veteres*. Or rather, he notes those cases where the wrong preposition seems to have been used and where commentators explain it by means of a modern equivalent.[18] The list we have is a short one, for Charisius breaks off after a few examples and refers his reader to Romanus' own book, but he gives us enough to conclude that the list is in alphabetical order.

The same comment on the character of the examples and the alphabetical order of the lemmata applies to the lists in *de coniunctione* (296.14–297.24, also interrupted by Charisius), in *de adverbio* (253.1–289.17, a complete list) and in *de analogia* (150.7–187.6, another complete one). The introduction to *de adverbio* is completely different from everything else in Latin grammar (the introduction to I.15 excepted),[19] but it can be said straightaway that it deals with a smaller part of the theory of the adverb than is usually found. Finally, the preface to *de analogia* (149.22–150.2) is another very learned exposition on what analogy is and the conditions one must observe when applying it as a criterion.

The long lists on analogy and adverbs are centred to a great extent on the usage of the *veteres*. In this respect they have a descriptive role. But they also serve a prescriptive purpose, namely to give rules about the correct forms of nouns and adverbs. In the chapters on prepositions, conjunctions and interjections such prescriptive observations are less likely to be found (apart from the fact that the lists there have been cut off by Charisius) because the forms do not allow for much variation. But in the case of adverbs there is always discussion about the correct form of adverbs in *-e* or *-o* and such like matters. Indeed, in the list of adverbs these problems are discussed and a *regula* is formulated. An instructive instance combining both the (implicitly) prescriptive and the descriptive approaches is found at 254.1–5:

> *Ampliter Plautus in Bacchidibus* (677, reference added by Barwick) *pro ample. Omnia enim nomina quae in qualitate sunt aut in quantitate, si dativo casu in o exeant, adverbia per e litteram faciunt, ut doctus docte, amplus ample. Sed veteres non observaverunt.*[20]

---

[18] This is the usual method of commentators working in the same language as that of their source and not availing themselves of a second language. See Schenkeveld 2002, 518-9.

[19] See Schenkeveld 1998.

[20] Romanus means adjective nouns of the second declension denoting a quality or a quantity.

Similar prescriptive observations occur at 257.9–13 (cp. 265.12–6); 259.4–11; 260.5–8; 276.11–8 and 279.20–9 and many other places. On the whole, however, the descriptive aspect of the usage of the *veteres* is predominant.

The chapter on analogy has much more of a prescriptive character. This is not surprising for the ancient discussion about *analogia (ratio)*, *auctoritas*, and *consuetudo* has to do with the correct formation of words.[21] In Romanus' list the correct form of the ablative singular of nouns in *-is* appears to be a controversial item. Discussion about this case is found again and again, e.g. 154.5–14 and 18–20; 155.14–7161.21–4; 178.20–3, to give a few examples. And other forms elicit similar discussions, like those in *-as* (155.7–11); and we may compare the question whether one should say *compluria* or *complura* (159.9–16). In many instances rules are formulated or reference to them is made, e.g. 176.10–4 or 151.18–25.

The prescriptive quality is in fact more prominent in this chapter than elsewhere in Romanus' work.[22]

The introductions, therefore, are peculiar for their learned observations, lack of exhaustive treatment of the theory, concentration on the usage of the *veteres*, and a mixture of description and prescription, especially in the chapter on *analogia*, Taking these together, the conclusion is inevitable. Romanus' Ἀφορμαί belongs to a different type from the *ars grammatica* type and should be classified as an example of the *regulae* type, as described in chapter I, section f. Vivien Law ends her description of this type of grammatical works with the phrase: "As a result, *regulae* grammars often give the impression of being reference works intended for consultation rather than school textbooks designed for systematic study" (1968, 366). This sketch is totally applicable to Romanus' Ἀφορμαί and explains at the same time why he can be so economical in his presentation of the relevant theory: his focus is elsewhere, not on the pupil learning Latin.

This discussion of the nature of Romanus' work is indispensable in the context of the discussion of its structure I initiated above. Now we have reviewed the evidence, it is time to return to this point. It is no longer inevitable, I think, to postulate with Schmidt the presence of books on the flexion of nouns and pronouns, on verbs, on metrics, on general definitions and other items proper to

[21] See Siebenborn 1976.
[22] More on this matter in section e.

a formal *ars grammatica*. For the allusions to a treatment of nouns and verbs (texts 13 and 14) permit a narrower explanation. What Romanus dealt with in *de consortio casuum* may well have been restricted to exceptional cases, like that mentioned in I.15, 113.7–17 on the genitive of *Sarapis: Sarapidis* as the grammarians require, or *Sarapis*, as *consuetudo* has it? This is the kind of discussion Romanus refers to at 169.13–9 when saying *ut de consortio casuum diximus*.[23] In the same way text 13 on *idiomata* can be explained as a reference to a book of extraordinary usages; alternatively, it may not refer to a proper book at all, but is merely an observation. Text (17) on *de distinctione* I cannot place.[24]

Thus, I think that the overall structure of Romanus' work may have looked like that of an *ars grammatica* in so far as several parts of speech were treated, though in an unusual way, and not with the intention to cover the whole field. This likeness, however, is superficial only, and thus misleading, for Romanus did not discuss all parts of speech but made a selection, just as other representatives of the *regulae* type do. There will have been a general introduction, and I.15, 61.16–63.16 on the origins of Latin, the development of grammatical studies, and the four criteria of correct Latin, would be a perfect candidate for such a preface. This chapter is, moreover, written in a style that reminds one of that of the introduction to *de adverbio*. However, there are external reasons not to ascribe this introduction to Romanus.[25] Within the lists of examples Romanus follows a definite alphabetical order; and so too in the chapter on the interjections.[26]

My researches do not result in a new and definite order of the books in Romanus' work. I can and will not go further than the list of books to be extracted from the texts 2–17. The book number for *de analogia* may be the right one, but this is a minor point. Of more importance is the recognition of the nature of Romanus' work.

---

[23] I say "the kind of discussion", not "the text", purposely, for in 113.16 *Vergilius* occurs, not *Maro*, Romanus' own way of referring to Vergil. He does so in 169.13, when discussing the form *Irim*, also referred to in 113.17.

[24] Comparing the first sections of the *Technê* of Dionysius Thrax Ineke Sluiter suggests that this text (17) may have had a place in a general introduction to the parts of speech or or one about reading.

[25] In Schenkeveld 1996 and 1998 I argued for a provenance from the *Dubii sermonis of* Pliny the Elder. There I also suggested that it has come to Charisius by way of Romanus. However, Diomedes has taken over very much from Charisius but completely passed over the parts of Romanus (Dammer 2002, 95), whereas he does quote from I.15 (*De latinitate* 439.14 ff.). Therefore, I now abandon this idea.

[26] Tolkiehn 1904 (cp. Tolkiehn 1926) has proved this; what we now have is a muddle.

Romanus' work was not a small contribution to the study of the Latin language. In Barwick's edition the amount of pages coming from his Ἀφορμαί is about 90. Chapter I.17 (*de analogia*) and the part in II.13 that belongs to Romanus altogether occupy 81 pages, whereas the parts in II.14, 15 and 16 (on conjunctions, prepositions, and interjections) have 9 pages. But according to his own statement, Charisius has cut off the first two parts, and the third part also looks to have been abbreviated. In all, Romanus' book was a substantial work counting over 100 pages in a modern edition. Charisius has chosen to copy some 90 pages only, and this amount is still about one-fifth of his complete work, if we are to take the number of pages in Barwick's edition as our bench-mark.

c. *The meaning of the title Ἀφορμαί*

To give a Greek title to a book written in Latin was a common phenomenon in Antiquity. Pliny the Elder (*NQ praefatio* 23 ff.) has some scathing remarks on this feature, and Aulus Gellius (*NA praefatio* 25 ff.) uses the examples Pliny had given and adds more instances. In a grammatical context we have the example of such a title in the case of the work of L. Caesellius Vindex, namely Στρωματεῖς *sive Commentaria lectionum antiquarum.*[27]

The meaning of the title Ἀφορμαί has been a matter of dispute since Keil's edition (*GL* I, xlvi). The title is not unique, for Porphyrius uses it for his book Ἀφορμαὶ πρὸς τὰ νοητά and we know of the title Ἀφορμαὶ ῥητορικαί by the sophist Thrasymachus and a similar one by Philostratos, son of Verus.[28] In general, there are two interpretations. The first one was proposed by Keil, who translated the title by *Principia*, mainly because of Porphyrius' book, which treated the basics or principles of philosophy. In his study on Romanus (p. 657) Froehde followed him (*Romanus igitur omnia ad principia grammaticae redegisse videtur*). The other interpretation starts from the very common usage of Ἀφορμαί in the sense of "starting point in order to reach something"[29] and, accordingly, takes the title as indicating

[27] See Schmidt § 434 and the discussion in Henriksson 1956, 137–8.

[28] Schmidt-Stählin 1911–1948, I.3.188, n. 2 and II.2.608, n. 3 (Henriksson *o.c.*, 139–40).

[29] Henriksson 1956, 140 refers to U. von Wilamowitz, *Euripides. Herakles* 2.236, who gives as equivalents for its use in different contexts "das wovon man ausgeht, operationsbasis, anlagecapital".

"Materialien" for further study or ἀφορμαί *latinitatis* (thus Barwick, *RP* 250), in the sense of "Ausgangspunkte zur Meisterung der lateinischen Sprache" (Henriksson 141).[30] The latter interpretation has much in its favour. But what is the reach of the notion of competence in Latin language? Does Romanus give his material as examples of correct Latin, which every learned Roman is allowed to use in his speech and writings, or does he have a different goal, namely to help readers of older texts to understand these better? In other words, does he give prescription or exegesis? We cannot answer these question before looking at his way of handling those older texts; this will be done in sections e and f.

d. *Romanus and his grammatical sources*

Romanus quotes more than 30 authors who had written or expressed an opinion on grammatical matters.[31] Many of these, like Varro and Pliny the Elder, were not grammarians by profession, others, such as Gnipho and Verrius Flaccus were. In time they range from the poet Lucilius (about 130 B.C.) to the latest datable persons, such as Gellius (mid-second century A.D.). In his study on Romanus, published in 1892, Froehde made a long list of all these authors. He also discussed what was known at that time about the activities of each of them in this field, and ended each lemma by treating the question whether Romanus had personally inspected their work(s) or taken over what he says from some other source. At the end of his study he summarises his findings.[32] I will not repeat his work here but shall only discuss these sources in a general way and single out some of these persons because they seem to have been Romanus' main sources of information. Among Romanus' sources three types may be distinguished:

[30] See also Della Casa 1978, 222–3: "basi", "fondamenti", intesi come "fondamente della materia", cioè in definitiva, dell' *ars grammatica*, [the view of Keil's, DMS] e non come "Prinzipien, Elemente [. .] die zu weiteren, tieferen Studien führen könnten" [the interpretation she had found in Schanz-Hosius III.168, and which is also Barwick's]. Schmidt § 439.1 combines both interpretations: "glossographische Materialien, Grundlagen als Ausgangspunkte für weitere grammatische Studien oder konkreten Sprachverwendung".

[31] Grammar is taken here, and elsewhere, in the sense of study of language and literature, especially poetry.

[32] Froehde 1892a, 590–651 and 666–7. His conclusions are that Romanus personally inspected the works of Sisenna, Asper, Plinius Secundus, Scaurus, Arruntius Celsus, Fl. Caper, Helenius Acron, Statilius Maximus, Umbrius Primus and Marcius Salutaris. All these were active between 50 and 200 A.D.

(1) glossographical material;
(2) commentaries on works of famous authors such as Vergil and Terentius;
(3) *artes* and other discussions on grammatical subjects.

Representatives of the group of glossographers (1) are Verrius Flaccus, Statilius Maximus, Caesellius Vindex, while on two occasions a reference to glossographers as a group is found.[33] Among the authors of commentaries (2) the names of Arruntius Celsus, Aemilius Asper, Terentius Scaurus, Sisenna, Helenius Acron, and Porphyrion occur. A principal source among the writers on grammatical subjects (3) is Plinius Secundus, the author of *Dubii sermonis libri*, especially book vi. He is quoted or mentioned over 75 times. Other important informants must have been Flavius Caper and Arruntius Celsus, judging from the number of references to these grammarians (both 9 times). But numbers are deceptive for Statilius Maximus is named 20 times, and then for adverbs from Cato or Cicero only. We know that Maximus wrote a book entitled *de singularibus apud Ciceronem quoque positis*, and Romanus uses it in his chapter on the adverbs. It was a collection of rare words and forms. Its users could adopt these in their own writings, for they now had the authority of Cicero and Cato.[34] To come back to Romanus, his list of interesting adverbs is not confined at all to those found in works of Cicero and Cato, and many other examples come from both poets and prose-writers of earlier and later times than these two authors. Therefore, Maximus was not the main source for this chapter, although the simple number of references would suggest this.

Indeed, the way Romanus uses his sources is interesting enough to go further into this matter. In *de analogia* (I.17) Plinius is quoted or mentioned some 75 times, and when a book number is added, this is always *liber VI.* Outside this chapter Charisius mentions Pliny 12 times. Four of these concern a quotation introduced by *ut Romanus refert* and they have to do with material we might ascribe to *de analogia.*[35]

---

[33] 297.24 (*ut in glossis antiquitatum legimus*) and 315.25 (*ut in glossis veterum [. . .] ut [. . .] vocum veterum interpretes scribunt*).

[34] Zetzel 1974, 111. For the one reference to Sallustius at 254.25 see Zetzel 110–1.

[35] But 66.8–18 is richer in information than the parallel passage in 177.11–4 and contains a reference to Plinius, *Dubii sermonis VI.* According to Froehde 1892a, 630 Charisius has shortened some lemmata in I.17, but the inference is not inevitable because in the latter passage Romanus only needs to talk about the plural of *poema*, not also that of *schema*, as he does in 66.8–18.

Such material is also used in six other references, two of which mention other books than the sixth one. But in these six references Romanus is never mentioned. Apart from Pliny, the other sources Romanus refers to by name in I.17 are quite few: Caesellius Vindex (1×), Fl. Caper (4×), Helenius Acron (3×), Terentius Scaurus (2×) and Aemilius Asper (1×).[36]

Pliny also had things to say on the *significationes* of the adverb, as Charisius tells (242.19 and 291.15–7) in non-Romanus contexts. However, in the long chapter on the adverb Romanus never mentions Pliny.[37] Almost all grammarians or commentators he mentions there belong to the end of the first/beginning of the second century or later:[38] Statilius Maximus (19×), Helenius Acron (6×), Fl. Caper (5×), Arruntius Celsus (5×), Aemilius Asper (5×), Sisenna (4×), Terentius Scaurus (2×), Umbrius Primus (3×), Sex. Pompeius Festus (1×), and Caesellius Vindex (1). Vindex, Caper, Scaurus, Asper, and Acron are the only grammarians used in both chapters.[39]

Romanus does not use all their works. For we know that Aemilius Asper, who is quoted several times for his notes on Sallust's *Historiae*, also wrote commentaries on Terentius and Vergil. Helenius Acron's commentary on Terentius' *Adelphoe* is used by Romanus, but not that on Horace. For Horace Romanus once only refers to Porphyrion. Commentaries on Vergil by Terentius Scaurus and Arruntius Celsus are mentioned several times. In connection, however, with a Vergilian usage a few other writers are mentioned, among them Pliny and Marcius Salutaris, though many times (in *de adverbio* 26 times against 6 times with source naming) no names are given at all.

The upshot of this investigation is that for his book on the adverbs Romanus must have used some comparatively recent commentaries of the second century, presumably those he could lay his hands on. For *de analogia* he availed himself of Plinius' *Dubii sermonis*, but why in almost all cases he restricted his usage of this work to the sixth book is not easy to say. My best guess is that only a roll with this sixth

---

[36] I leave out grammarians before Pliny.

[37] For this reason one should not insert <*Plinius*> at 287.7 with Fabricius.

[38] Q. Terentius Scaurus, Caesellius Vindex, C. Sulpicius Apollonaris, Flavius Caper, Sex. Pompeius Festus, Aemilius Asper, Helenius Acron, Sisenna, Statilius Maximus, Arruntius Celsus, and Pompeius Porphyrion (probably the nearest of them all in time to Romanus). I except Marcius Salutaris (see section a). The necessary references in Schmidt §§ 433–9, 440, 443–445.1, and 446.

[39] Vindex is also used in *de interiectione*, as well as Statilius Maximus.

book was in Romanus' possession.[40] Romanus must also have made use of Fl. Caper, *De latinitate.* This work might provide him with much material from Republican and later authors, but we do not know this for sure (see ch. I, section h). The same conclusion applies to Caesellius Vindex, Στρωματεῖς *sive Commentaria lectionum antiquarum.*

When discussing Romanus' methods in connection with the works of Statilius Maximus Zetzel speaks of "an excerptor as lazy as Romanus".[41] This judgement looks too harsh to me, and does not take into account the possibility that Romanus did not have at his disposal more books and commentaries than he quotes. The latter solution looks to me the more feasible one. He took from his sources as much as he could find there. He will also have used notes taken from his own reading of authors, but here again we have no safe indications about the extent of these notes.

But Romanus did not use his sources blindly and without a critical attitude. More than once he adds a personal remark of his own. Thus at 168.22–28 he criticizes the lack of clarity of a rule made by grammarians about the flexion of nouns in *-es*, and at 178.30–179.4 (cp. 114.2.–8) he rejects the views of both Caesar and Verrius about the plural forms of *panis*, because this words belongs to the group of words which occur in the singular only. He adds that everywhere in the writings of the *veteres* one finds nothing but the singular form. At another place, 182.27–183.4 he reports the attempt of some grammarians to posit the nominative *supellectilis* instead of *supellex.* They did so in order to allow no exception to the rule that in the genitive nominatives "do not grow with more than one syllable" (*non plus quam una syllaba crescunt*, 58.26–30; *una syllaba crescere*, 181.20). Other grammarians usually accept the rule but also mention exceptions, such *iecor, iecinoris; iter, itineris* and *supellex, supellectilis* (59.24–7). But the exceptions are reasoned away and accordingly the nominative forms are changed into *iocinus* or *iociner, itiner* and *supellectilis.* In our passage Romanus adds after his report on the views of some grammarians: *sed necdum nobis idoneum proin loquentis occurrit exemplum, velut ancipes et praecipes, quod vetustas cum ratione rancidum protulit.*[42, 43]

---

[40] The two references to book II and V occur outside Romanus' books.

[41] Zetzel 1974, 116, cp. 115: "Romanus' methods show that he was far too lazy to make use of two similar books by the same author".

[42] Perhaps Romanus borrowed this remark from his source. The same view is found in 110.26–111.4.

[43] Cp. Froehde 1892a, 664–5.

e. *Romanus' views on correct Latin*

In the short introduction to chapter I.17 Charisius tells his reader that he will not go into a long exposition on the theory of *analogia*, and instead will ask him to be content with the few remarks which by way of example C. Iulius Romanus has given, *ut interdum tacente ratione quantum sibi dederit auctoritas colligamus* ("in order that we may gather how much freedom *auctoritas* (of the literary models) has sometimes allowed itself when *ratio* remained silent"). Undoubtedly Charisius here quotes Romanus' own words.[44] *Ratio (analogia)* and *auctoritas* are terms well-known from any Roman discussion on language. A few lines further on (150.20–4) Romanus mentions *consuetudo*, a third term often used in such discussions. Finally, according to Charisius (e.g. at the end of II.14 and 15) Romanus deals with many other linguistic phenomena in the writings of *veteres auctores*, and the term *veteres* often occurs in Romanus' fragments.[45] A short enquiry into the meaning and scope of the various terms used by Romanus is therefore called for.[46]

The principle of analogy in language can be applied in two ways. Firstly, one posits a proportion of four (or more) forms, in which three (or more) are known and one not (a : b = c : x), and from this analogy one deduces the correct form. E.g. at 152.9–12

> *Aqualium an potius aquarium dici debeat quaerit Plinius et putat, ut laterale laterarium, scutale scutarium, et manuale saxum, manuarium vas, proin aqualis aquarium dici.*[47]

Greek scholars like Aristophanes of Byzantium and Aristarchus had realized that not all apparently identical forms can be put in a proportion, and they formulated several criteria such as similarity in

[44] This inference follows both from the imagery and the addition *scilicet tramitibus nominum per litteras stratis*, for Romanus always presents his material in an alphabetical order.

[45] E.g. 152.31; 251.11 and 254.5. The alternative term *antiqui* is not used by him, although it may occur in passages quoted from other authors (e.g. 156.26; 169.21 and 276.9). The use of *antiqui* in 297.22 may be caused by the source Romanus here mentions, *glossae antiquitatum*.

[46] For an extensive exposition of the principles of analogy (*ratio*) and the role of tradition (*auctoritas*), contemporary usage (*consuetudo*) and kindred notions see Fehling 1956–7, Siebenborn 1976 and Grebe 2000.

[47] "Pliny enquires whether one should say *aqualium* or *aquarium* and thinks that as one says *laterale laterarium*, *scutale scutarium*, and *manuale saxum*, *manuarium vas*, in like manner is said *aqualis aquarium*".

gender, case and ending. In his introduction to the book on analogy (I.17) Romanus had dealt extensively with this matter, but Charisius breaks off this discussion after a few phrases.

The second manner of application comes at the following stage. One has enough examples to formulate a general rule, a *canon* or *regula* (also called *finitio*). Thus at 154.9–14 we find the following rule given by Pliny:

> *Nomina quaecumque genetivo singulari -is syllaba finiuntur, exceptis his quae similiter faciunt nominativo, oportet ablativo singulari -e littera terminari, a Prudente, ab homine. Quod si adicias aliquid, idem in eodem Plinius, per -i debet dici, a prudenti consilio.*[48]

Pliny talks about the ablativus sg. of the imparisyllables of the third declination and lays down the following rule: they should end in *-e* when they stand alone, i.e. when they are a substantive;[49] when they are an adjective (and cannot stand alone in the sentence) they end in *-i*. This kind of *regula* is used throughout the chapter on analogy, far more often than the first kind, the use of proportion.

By *auctoritas* is meant the usage of previous writers. Not all writers have the same authority; usually famous poets, orators and historians only provide the norm. Grammarians can make a distinction between old writers (*veteres*) and those of a more recent period (*auctores*), but not all do so. Current usage is called *consuetudo*. This usage is not vulgar speech but the speech of the *eruditi*, as Quintilian (1.6.45) says.[50]

From the quotation from the introduction to I.17 given above we may infer that *ratio* is the governing principle. We get the same impression from Pliny's words quoted by Romanus in 151.18 ff.:

> *"Amicities" Plinius Secundus sermonis dubii libro VI "ut planities" inquit "luxuries mollities et similia, veterum dignitate. Ceterum rationis via debet amicitia dici. Omnia enim nomina quae nominativo plurali ae syllaba finiuntur e deposita reddunt nominativo singulari speciem sui iuris ac formae. Quod si manus veterum licentiae porrigemus, potest et copies et observanties et benevolenties dici".*[51]

---

[48] "All nouns ending in the gen. sg. in *-is* (with the exception of those which have the same ending in the nom. sg.) must end in the abl. sg. in *-e, a Prudente, ab homine.* But if one adds something, then the same Pliny in the same book says that they must end in *-i, a prudenti consilio*". Of course, an adjective is added to a noun, not *vice versa*, but Pliny is brought to this formulation by his example.

[49] Therefore I print *Prudente* as a proper name.

[50] Cp. Char. 63.9–11.

[51] "In book 6 of his *sermonis dubii (libri)* Plinius Secundus says: "*Amicities* is comparable to *planities, luxuries, mollities* and similar forms, and has old authority. However, by the method of *ratio* (properly) one should say *amicitia.* For all nouns which in

Pliny first explains the form *amicities*. It is an old one and has the authority of occurring in the writings of the old writers. However, it is not the proper one. Therefore, one should accept it and not delete it from those old writings, but on the other hand one should not use its occurrence to introduce analogical forms, such as *copies*. A similar statement is found in Romanus' own words in 251.15 ff. In his treatment of adverbs in *-o* and *-e* (250.23–251.20) he does not accept the view that adverbs can end in *-e* or *-o* indiscriminately. The proper ending, that justified by *ratio*, is the one in *-e*. But there are some examples of both endings being in use, and therefore both may be acceptable. The older writers made use of this possibility, and thus we find *cotidio* instead of the regular *cotidie*. Romanus states his position in this matter thus (251.15 ff.):

> *Quae quidem ego reprehendenda non iudico, siqua ratio fortasse non firma nec in legibus suis durans interdumve succumbit alienis elegantiarum remediis adquiescens fidemque proclamat, auctoritatis videlicet nec adeo sanctionis, alienis viribus manus tradens.*[52]

Here, too, the deviant form, though irregular, is acceptable but only on the understanding that in this case the principle of analogy has voluntarily been abandoned, a process which—we may add—should not be allowed in other cases.

Thus, analogy is the first and most important factor of correct Latin, and the authority of the older writers comes in a second place. But acceptance of old forms as such does not imply that authority is a norm for contemporary speech. *Copies* is not acceptable and should not be defended by reason of its supposed analogy with *materies*, for the *veteres* exercised much *licentia*. In his stance towards the *auctoritas veterum* Romanus agrees with other Roman writers, such as Servius. Kaster (*GOL* 172 ff.) has shown that in his commentary on Vergil's *Aeneid* Servius rejects what Kaster calls "analogical archaism", the introduction of neologisms which look old and are made by analogy with attested old forms and words.[53]

---

the nominative plural end in *-ae* by laying aside the letter *-e* restore to the nominative singular the appearance of its own rightful form. But if we surrender to the licence of the *veteres*, one can also say *copies, observanties* and *benevolenties*".

[52] "Certainly, I do not think that such expressions should be censured, if somehow analogy, perhaps not steadfast and upholding its own laws, sometimes yields to the enticements of strange elegance, thereby giving its assent. It proclaims its allegiance and surrenders to the powers of others, namely those of authority (of the old writers), and not as much their sanctions".

[53] Cf. Uhl 1998, 559 ff.

The relationship of analogy with contemporary usage (*consuetudo*) is similar to that between analogy and tradition. Throughout the chapter on analogy (I.17) we come across statements that despite the rule of analogy an irregular form has become the usual one.[54] Most of these statements come from Pliny's book *Dubii sermonis* and will reflect Romanus' own views at the same time. For he does not express any objections.

Both tradition and contemporary speech, as we have seen, have sometimes driven out the regular form. The reason why they have won the competition with analogy is usually not given. Occasionally Romanus does offer such an explanation (or takes it over from Pliny and other authors), and then it appears that the relevant form has a better sound (*suavitas*) and therefore *elegantia*. I have already quoted Romanus' observation in his introduction (251.15–9) about *ratio* giving in to *alienis elegantiarum remediis*. Another testimony is Pliny's statement that because of *suavitas* (euphony) Varro preferred the contemporary form *poematis* over the regular one *poematibus* (157.3–9). He refers to his own discussion on Vergil's use of *Anchisen* and *Acesten* instead of the apparently more regular forms in *-em*. Vergil must have the latter one found a *dura declinatio* (a harsh sounding declension) (85.14–9). At 153.26–33 Pliny explains the reason why we say *pater familias*, and not *pater familiae*. Sisenna had said that if we say *pater familiae*, we should also say *patrum familiarum*. But contemporary usage rejected the latter form as disgusting and therefore the old form *pater familias* was continued (*patrum familiarum cum consuetudinis taedium respuerit, et pater familias perseveratum est*). In a parallel text (137.1–22) the same reason is given with another reference to euphony: *quod* (sc. *patrum familiarum*) *quoniam durum erat et longe iucundius patrum familias sonabat, etiam pater familias ut diceretur consuetudo comprobavit*).[55] This attitude to euphony as a correcting factor is also found in the non-Plinian passage,[56] at 63.9–16, where we read: *consuetudo [. . .] recipienda est, [. . .] quae horridiorem rationem sono blandiore depellat. Interdum enim utilibus iucunda gratiora sunt.*[57]

---

[54] E.g. 159.15 (*consuetudo tamen*); 162.21–2 (*usus tamen*); 174.10 (*consuetudo vero*); 179.10 (*sed consuetudo*).

[55] Cp. 150.17–24, where *animale* is called the proper form, but to keep this ending in all cases of words in *-al* would amount to banishing the *elegantia consuetudinis* from language.

[56] See note 25.

[57] "One should take as usage not the vulgar and sordid one but that which by a more smooth sound repels the rationally correct form". See also Siebenborn 1976, 154–6 and Sluiter 1988.

In discussing *ratio, veteres,* and *consuetudo* we have come across the principal elements of Latin according to Romanus. Etymology does not play any significant role in his explanations. *Natura* is found at 162.22 (and at 177.9 in a quotation from Asper) in the sense of 'the natural form, the original form'. The context in which this term appears is a discussion of the form *Euandrus.* This formation is in agreement with the rule that Greek words ending in *-o* should end in Latin in *-us.* But the *usus* has *Euander.* Then comes the relevant phrase: *sunt sane quaedam quorum natura consuetudini copulatur, ut Codrus et Hesperus.* In some cases *natura* and *consuetudo* go together and consequently not **Coder* is the common form, but *Codrus,* which is the natural form at the same time.[58] This single occurrence of the term in Romanus' fragments and the fact that it does not occur elsewhere there forbid us, I think, to link the term here to the theory found elsewhere about *natura* as one of the four constituents of Latin language, the others being *analogia, consuetudo* and *auctoritas.*[59] To do so would be attractive and the probable circumstance that it occurs in a context of Plinian origin may support such an endeavour, but on the whole the evidence is too tenuous to prove this link.

Now we have dealt with Romanus' views on the Latin language, we must add that these views are not at all exceptional. All other grammarians support the role of analogy as being of prime importance, and they also concede that sometimes one should accept an irregular form used in contemporary speech. The authority of the tradition, present in the writings of previous writers, is another factor. Differences between them do not concern the recognition of the three notions as valid factors but have to do with the acceptance of irregular forms at the cost of the regular ones, and vice versa. In this context it is important to note that among the grammarians and scholars whose writings we still have none of them is a fanatical defender of analogy who will reject any irregular formation. Such fanatics we find ridiculed in the *Noctes atticae* of Aulus Gellius.

---

[58] The same argument must do for *Hesperus,* not **Hesper,* notwithstanding the close links with Latin *vesper,* which are noted in etymological works, see Maltby 1991, *s.vv.*

[59] See Schenkeveld 1996, 28–9.

f. *Romanus and the* veteres: *archaizing classicism*

Romanus' treatment of the usage of *veteres* deserves a discussion of its own. The books on analogy and the adverb bristle with examples from the *veteres*. According to Barwick[60] Fl. Caper, one of Romanus' sources, distinguishes between *auctores* and *veteres*, meaning by the first term the classical authors, such as Cicero and Vergil, whereas those of earlier ages are *veteres*, for instance Pacuvius, Plautus and Terentius. This distinction is absent from Romanus' work.[61] In general, he explicitly calls *veteres* authors ranging in time from Ennius through Plautus and Terentius to Afranius and Q. Caepio. At 152.31 ff., however, he argues that *veteres* used both *ambos* and *ambo* indiscriminately and quotes examples from Afranius, Terentius, and Vergil (!).

This inclusive, all-encompassing range of the term *veteres* also appears from Charisius' reference to the contents of Romanus' books on the preposition and the conjunction: *Sunt et aliae plurimae coniunctiones (praepositiones) apud veteres auctores interpositae, de quibus plenius C. Iulius Romanus libro* ἀφορμῶν *sub titulo de coniunctione (praepositione) disseruit* (297.25–8; 310.26–311.2). Among the authors quoted by Romanus in the parts on conjunctions and prepositions we still have, Vergil (*Maro*) also is present.

The number of examples and the diversity of authors quoted by Romanus are impressive. In the following lists I have not included authors quoted for opinions on grammatical matters like C. Caesar or Pliny the Elder (see section d), but only "literary authors".[62] In the book on analogy (I.17) Romanus refers to 61 different authors and quotes 245 examples. For that on the adverb the numbers are: 43 authors and 351 examples. I.17 takes up 37 pages in Barwick's edition and the list of the adverbs 46 pages. Many authors are referred to once or a few times only.[63] The number of authors quoted

---

[60] Barwick 1922, 188–91; 203–7 and 213–5.

[61] At 251.13 *auctoritas* refers to the whole literary tradition, not the more recent one.

[62] Such counting is a tedious business and some slight errors may be present in the numbers given.

[63] In I.17 once only: Cn. Matius, C. Cassius, Hortensius, Bibaculus, Martial, Messala, Augustus, Stilo, Brutus, Tullius, Cincius, Aemilius Macer, Catullus, Ovidius, Trogus, Atacinus, Gellius, Puplius Rutilius, Fabianus, Coelius, Ninnius, Mummius, Afer, Servilius, Fabianus, Maecenas, Oppius and Aem. Scaurus.Twice: Lucretius, Annius Florus, C. Fannius, Cinna, Fronto, Naevius, Ateius Philologus, Pomponius Sec., Porcius Licinius, M. Scaurus, Pacuvius, Asinius Pollio and Oppius. Three times: Tibullus, C. Caesar and Cornelius Nepos. Four times: Accius, Afranius, P. Rutilius Rufus, Caecilius and Titinius. Five times: Pomponius.

more than five times is 8 and 10 respectively. The frequencies differ, as is shown below:

De analogia		*De adverbio*	
Sallustius	6	Sisenna	8
Cato Maior	6	Titinius	11
Lucilius	7	Sallust	15
Terentius	11	Naevius	21
Plautus	13	Vergil	28
Cicero	23	Terentius	32
Vergil	40	Afranius	33
Varro	42	Cato Maior	35
		Cicero	49
		Plautus	60

Differences in the number of times favourite authors are quoted in the respective lists (e.g. Plautus 13 and 60 times resp.; Varro 42 and 0; Afranius 4 and 33; Cato 6 and 35) may well go back to Romanus' sources. Thus Varro must have been a *Fundgrube* for Pliny the Elder in the case of nouns (substantives and adjectives), but for his treatment of adverbs Romanus did not rely on Pliny's book, and it is probably for this reason that Varro is absent from the second column.

The list of the authors quoted less than 6 times covers the whole period of Latin literature from Ennius (239–169 B.C.) to Apuleius (125–after 169 A.D.), but the list of "favourite" authors is restricted to those from the third to the first century B.C. In other words, there is a distinct preference for what we are accustomed to call the archaic and classical authors. As to the group of adverbs, the dramatists, especially those of the comic genres, provide most examples (158), and two prose writers (Cato and Cicero) also many (84). The preponderance of the dramatists may just be due to the sources used, not to the subject of interesting adverbs, but in the part on interjections it makes perfect sense that they should be predominant: dialogue with exclamations and other direct expressions of the speaker's state of mind is found to a much greater extent in drama than in prose works.

In the list of the adverbs once only: P. Rutilius Rufus, Asellio, Livius, Suetonius Tranquillus, Tubero, Laevius, Tiro, Augustus, M. Scaurus, Pomponius, C. Cotta, Cornelius Nepos, Brutus, Sempronius, Aurelius Caesar and Calvus. Twice: Pacuvius, Horatius, Accius and Hadrianus. Three times: Caecilius and Laberius. Four times: Ennius, Fronto and Coelius.

From Romanus' introductions we get no hint why he focuses on archaic and classical writers, and not on more recent ones. We have seen that in his approach to the examples from the *veteres* Romanus does not view these as a possible source for use in contemporary speech. He explains forms and words used by the older writers, sometimes criticizes them, at other times stresses that their defiance of the analogical rules was right because the result sounds better, but I have not met a clear indication in this material of their usefulness for modern oratory and other forms of literature. In the introduction to the chapter *de analogia* Charisius-Romanus formulates the purpose of the following collection by *ut interdum tacente ratione quantum sibi dederit auctoritas colligamus* (150.4–5), a phrase discussed at the beginning of the previous section. In the other place which may shed light on Romanus' purposes, the introduction to *de adverbio*, he first says (252.4) that he will dwell on the various meanings of words (*differentia morabor ingenia loquellarum*), and a few lines further on (252.18–20) he expresses as his goal to ascertain what has been said in agreement with the rules of *ratio* and what with more licence. Thus the question why the focus is on the older writers still remains unanswered.

Nevertheless, everyone with some knowledge of the Latin literature of the second century A.D. and onwards will be inclined to connect this concentration on older writers with the "goût archaïsant au II^{e} siècle de notre ère", to quote words from the title of a well-known study by René Marache (1952).[64] In his perceptive introduction to the discussion of the achievements of the grammarians between 117 and 284 A.D. P.L. Schmidt (§ 432) treats at length the important change in their attitudes towards the Latin language and its study. The *canon* of authors with *auctoritas* undergoes a considerable expansion and now stretches from the *veteres* to the classical authors of the Augustan period. Their usage of Latin should be considered, especially that of single words and forms, and taken into account. The idea behind this movement is that "the study of the literary representatives of an age of imagined linguistic purity could regenerate excellence in contemporary speech", and this led "to the acceptance of thoroughly obsolete vocabulary as a normal feature of public oratory".[65] Schmidt calls this movement "archaisierender Klassizismus" and distinguishes it from the modernism of Seneca and his follow-

---

[64] For earlier periods with archaizing tendencies in prose literature see Lebek 1970.
[65] Jocelyn, quoted by Schmidt § 432.

ers and from the "pure" classicism of Quintilian. One of the representatives of this archaizing classicism is C. Iulius Romanus. Schmidt does not refer to texts which support this view about Romanus.[66] I have used above a statistical method which gives arguments in favour of Schmidt's statement. But there are more.

Some indications can be found in Romanus' own usage in the introduction to *de adverbio* (246–252). This piece is long enough to give an impression of what Romanus is able to write outside the long lists of examples. Such lists do not offer much occasion for a literary style, but, as I shall show later on, this introduction is written in such a style and reads like a piece full of rhetoric, and therefore, meets the condition of "public oratory" spoken of by Jocelyn. In this introduction I find several examples of words which had become obsolete. Thus at 252.18–9 Romanus says *per easdem vias pedetemptim subire conabimur. Pedetemptim* is exemplified at 277.1–5 by quotations from Lucilius, Cato and Cicero. The lover of archaic usage, M. Fronto, uses it again, but on the whole it becomes obsolete after the first century A.D. In 246.26 *specto* followed by an indirect question is used, and this construction is absent after Plautus until Apuleius revives it. Perhaps the use of *sequius* at 248.30 is another indication, for Romanus mentions its occurrence in a work of Afranius (284.16). But this mention may be due to the foregoing lemma, *setius*, again cited from Afranius; thus Romanus seems to imply that Afranius uses both the old form *setius* and the newer one. The strongest indication, however, is the use of *saepenumero* at 252.15: *et quia saepenumero contendere a nobis non desinitis, licet Statilius Maximus de singularibus apud Ciceronem quoque positis 'saepenumero' notat, ut in ceteris an ratio teneat examinemus, per easdem vias pedetemptim subire conabimur.*[67] Romanus defends his use of the adverb with a reference to Ciceronian usage. His defence sounds like a joke at the cost of his friends, and can be compared with what he says at 274.22–5: *Parcissime Probus de inaequalitate consuetudinis quaerit an quis extulerit, quod et ipsum credo non parcissime factum.*[68]

---

[66] Froehde 1892a has nothing pertinent to this problem. Neither does Barwick 1922.

[67] "Because you never stop urging us oftentimes—you contend me this usage, although in his book *On unique words also used by Cicero* Statilius Maximus notes his use of *saepenumero*—, to examine whether, as in other cases, analogy holds here too, we shall proceed along the same way gradually". See also my commentary *a.l.*

[68] "Probus [. . .] enquires whether anyone has ever uttered (used) the adverb *parcissime* ('very rarely'). I think that the very occurrence has happened not very rarely (*parcissime*)".

Thus, both the focus on older writers and the occasional use of obsolete forms in a piece of rhetoric support the view that Romanus is part of the movement of archaizing classicism. However, he is not a fanatic and can joke about his own use of old words.

An insoluble question, finally, concerns Romanus' personal knowledge of the works of the *veteres*. Has he read the texts he quotes in the original, or does his knowledge depend on the quotations found in his grammatical sources? Jocelyn makes the observation that Romanus borrows much from Fl. Caper, *De latinitate* and *De dubiis generibus*, but when quoting Plautus' *Pseudolus* 817–8 he gives a text which runs quite differently from the quotation by Caper (Priscian, *GL* ii.205.1–4), which is more or less in the form we read in our codices.[69] Why this difference? Personal reading of a Plautus manuscript or not? Moreover, someone's private reading of an ancient author does not necessarily imply that the reader notes rare forms, peculiar syntagms and other *notabilia* independently from other scholars. We can be reasonably certain that Romanus knew Vergil's *Aeneid* almost by heart. But does such knowledge guarantee that he himself observed all the peculiar forms he notes in his work? We have the quotations only, and from these we cannot be certain that Romanus detected them himself, even when he formulates the observation in his own way.[70]

g. *The merits of Romanus, the author of* Ἀφορμαί

At the end of this chapter on Romanus we can now make up our mind and say something about the place of Romanus among the Latin authors of grammatical writings.

The first and great merit of Romanus is that he has chosen to gather and read through many grammatical books, make compilations and put these together in his own work. The effects of these efforts are manifold. For thanks to him we have much more knowledge about earlier writings on linguistic views than if his book was lost. Moreover, he gives us an insight into the preoccupations of

[69] Jocelyn 2002.

[70] Froehde 1892a, 664–5, has a list of expressions peculiar to Romanus. I only mention here 166.28–9; 168.22; 178.22; 179.2; and 183.2–4.

scholars who studied Latin, not only those of a much earlier period, like Pliny the Elder, but also men who are almost his contemporaries, such as Helenius Acron and Statilius Maximus. Another consequence of this collection is that very many quotations, specifically from archaic and classical authors, are preserved which are not known from other sources. In this way Romanus testifies to the existence of the archaizing movement of the second and third century.

Romanus is not one of the great grammarians of the Imperial Age. Usually his views find their parallels in writings of previous grammarians, and the few times we find that Romanus is the first person whose formulation of a particular view has come down to us, we do not have the impression that he is original. Thus the statement at 252.22–25 in which the combination adverb + adjective (as in e.g. *bene culta*) is mentioned is the first time this combination is recognized,[71] but this statement probably comes from Suetonius Tranquillus, whom Romanus quotes here.

On the other hand, Romanus must be viewed as one of the most original authors in Latin linguistics because of his introduction to his book on adverbs. Apart from the prooemium of I.15 there is no other piece of writing in the whole of the Roman literature on the Latin language which gives the reader so much enjoyment because of its rhetorical structure, happy phrases, and elegance of expression. To turn a discussion of a dry subject such as the adverb into a piece of literature is a great achievement.

---

[71] Charisius 199.18–22 says that the addition of adverbs like *magis* and *maxime* to certain adjectives makes possible the gradation of comparative and superlative, forms which these adjectives cannot make by themselves.

CHAPTER THREE

THE INTRODUCTION TO THE *LIBER DE ADVERBIO* OF ROMANUS

a. *Preliminary remarks*

The peculiar character of Romanus' introduction calls for a short survey of the characteristics of the discussions of the theory of the adverb in other Latin *artes.*

Usually the authors present their material in a linear way, that is to say, the various items of the theory follow one another without any sign of transition or cross-reference. If they wish to explain why something is the case, their argument is very brief, for description and prescription, not explication, are the characteristics of these treatments.

The lists and the order of the subjects treated in the parts on the adverb vary to some extent, but normally their authors treat the following aspects of the theory[1] (in a second column I put Romanus' list in the order these aspects are dealt with):

Other Latin *artes*	Romanus' introduction
Definitio (and name)	1. *Definitio*
Suae positionis v. *derivatum*	2. *Consortium adverbii cum aliis partibus orationis* (specif. *cum interiectione*)
Accidentia	3. *Adverbia vocandi et respondendi*
a) *significationes* b) *figura* (*simplex* v. *compositum*)	4. *Significationes*
c) *comparatio* (*collatio*)	5. *Collatio*
Endings in *-e*, *-o*, (short v. long),	6. Endings in *-e* and *-o*
in *-iter* etc. Partnership (*cum aliis partibus*)	7. Name

[1] See Jeep 1893, 268–83 and Swiggers & Wouters 2002.

The first three aspects of definition (+ name), (non-)derivation and accidents are always treated in the *artes*; those of endings and partnership are optional. Among the accidents we always see quite a long list of the various *significationes* (adverbs of time, place, etc.), the observation that they may be simple or composite (just like other parts of speech), and an explanation of the way to form comparatives and superlatives of adverbs. Among the optional items the subject of the endings of adverbs is easy to understand; that of partnership asks for more discussion, as it is of great importance for our understanding of Romanus' introduction.

Partnership[2] (Gr. συνέμπτωσις) concerns adverbs which in a different syntactic position are a different part of speech. Thus in the phrase *sedulo puero donum dedit* the form *sedulo* is a *nomen* (*adjectivum*) but in *sedulo scribit* we have to do with the adverb *sedulo*. Donatus (*G.L.* IV.387.2 ff.) duly lists examples of adverbs which are homonymous with nouns, verbs, pronouns and other parts of speech. He adds that either the *sensus* (context) or the *accentus* (prosody) will decide to which class the word under discussion belongs. This kind of discussion is not restricted to the class of adverbs, for the subject of μερισμός (*partitio*), the assignment of a word to its proper word-class, is of crucial importance to ancient grammar; but because according to ancient grammarians many words and word groups can also function as adverbs, the treatment of partnership under the heading of adverbs is indispensable. Servius starts his discussion of this aspect with the assertion that when a part of speech ceases to be what it is, it can only be an adverb,[3] and in this way well illustrates the importance of the subject. Whereas Donatus (*l.l.*) introduces this item by saying that in the case of many words one can doubt (*sunt multae dictiones dubiae*) whether they are adverb or noun etc., Diomedes (I.405.28 f.) takes a different line of approach and states that there are adverbs which have partnership with nouns etc. (*sunt adverbia aut cum nominibus communia . . .*).

The partnership between adverbs and interjections is discussed often because of the inherent difficulties in distinguishing the latter

---

[2] Romanus is the only artigrapher to use a noun (*consortium*), the others preferring the periphrastic *communia esse*. See commentary at 247.3–9. The notion of partnership is the equivalent of that of coincidence (συνέμπτωσις) in Greek grammar. See also Sluiter 1990, 125–8, who points out the link with homonymy and synonymy.

[3] *GL* IV. 439.22 *omnis pars orationis cum desierit esse quod est, nihil aliud est nisi adverbium.*

group and the influence of the tradition, especially of Greek grammar. In the Greek tradition interjections are adverbs, in the Roman schools they are a separate part of speech because of the lack of adherence, both syntactically and semantically, to a verb. At the same time, however, due to Greek influence, I think, many members of this group were also assigned to the class of adverbs. Moreover, sometimes they are even seen as being not a *pars orationis* at all because they are irrational and do not participate in *logos* (*ratio*).[4]

For instance, what is the status of words like *heus* ('ho!, ho there!, hark!, hallo') and *heu* ('oh!, ah!, alas!') or a word such as *o* ('oh, o')? Several solutions were given by grammarians, by which they could classify these words as adverbs or as interjections depending on the emotional load of the context.[5]

Finally, the style of these and similar discussions is factual and very dry.

At first sight one may suppose that Romanus' introduction follows the pattern of the other *artes*, though with some omissions and a different order. Thus we will see that e.g. he has almost the same list of *significationes* of the adverb as traditional grammar. However, this impression is wrong, for nowhere in this introduction is there an explicit discussion of the accidents, and Romanus does not treat the aspect of *figura*. That of *significatio* is not discussed as such but used as an item to support a specific argument. The same conclusion will serve for the treatment of *gradatio*. We shall see that Romanus discusses the endings of adverbs in *-e* and *-o*, but he omits to do so for those in *-iter, -im* etc. It will also appear that Romanus spends a lot of space on the concept of partnership (he calls it *consortium*), especially that between adverb and interjection. Considering all these points (a selection only) a first conclusion must be that what Romanus offers his reader is not a real survey of the adverbial theory, as we have it in other *artes*, but something quite different.

---

[4] See Sluiter 1990, ch. 4.
[5] See Sluiter 1990, 4.2.

b. *The transitions*

I first give a division of the text of the introduction after the items discussed:

1.	246.18–25	definition and reference to a Greek definition
2.	246.25–247.2	relationship with interjection
3.	247.3–12	consortium with other parts of speech
4.	247.12–248.1	once again interjection
5.	248.1–249.23	*adverbia vocandi respondendive* are not adverbia
	a. 248.1–7	the problem
	b. 248.7–249.19	non-support to be got from the *significationes* of other adverbs
	c. 249.19–23	conclusion about these adverbs
6.	249.24–250.23	collatio
7.	250.23–251.19	endings in *-e* and *-o*
8.	251.20–252.21	goals of Romanus' presentation of adverbs
9.	252.21–25	names of the adverb
10.	252.25–31	order of the lemmata

The individual parts of the discussion are not presented as independent blocks of information but are linked by transitions, which together make the whole introduction look like one ongoing argument. Thus the first item about definition is concluded by a reference to the Greek definition and then followed by the remark that Romanus does not understand why the Greeks called words expressing complaints adverbs, whereas the Romans understood that they could not be adverbs. This remark brings him to the problem of interjections and then to that of *consortium* with other parts of speech. The same procedure of linking the individual items of discussion by transitions is kept to throughout the whole introduction.

Sometimes a transition is far-fetched. Not so for the items 1–5, where the relationship between adverb and interjection and their differences continually dominate the discussion. But the matter of gradation has no connection whatsoever with that of interjection *versus* adverb, and yet Romanus introduces the subject of gradation by saying: "But although gradation, which Umbrius Primus calls comparison, might be able to bring some defence [of what in the foregoing

has been rejected], you have to confess that those (adverbs) of quantity hardly can do so". The idea that *collatio* might be used to defend what Romanus rejects is merely brought in to produce a transition and will be dropped immediately after being enunciated. Later on we shall see this passage marks the switch from one main topic to the other one.

c. *The argument itself; (1) 246.18–249.23*

Romanus starts in the traditional way by defining what part of speech the adverb is:

> An adverb is a part of speech which added to a verb clarifies and completes its meaning. For instance, there is a verb *scribo.* If one adds to it *bene* or *male,* which are adverbs, one will get *bene scribo, male scribo.* The same placing together with (the same) parts of speech occurs in the case of Greek adverbs. (follows a Greek definition).

The example may be meant as an explanation of the definition, but if so, it is a deficient or circular explanation, for it demonstrates nothing. Neither does the comparison with the Greek situation. But it soon turns out that Romanus takes the definition to be self-evident, for he only uses the comparison with Greek theory as an opening for an attack:

> How then they were able to call 'words expressing complaint adverbs', I fail to see. Our men have separated out this part of speech, not in order to fill up the number of eight parts of speech because of the absence of the article, the Greek ἄρθρον, but because they perceived that it could not be an adverb.

Romanus' explication is again deficient, but he is obviously writing for experts: these will immediately know that the main reason for the non-classification as adverb of these words is the absence of *adiectio verbi.*[6]

After this attack Romanus makes a concession (*non quia nesciam*), viz. that adverbs have partnership with other parts of speech and an adverb therefore can also have the form of a noun or another

[6] By this term I mean both the view that an adverb is added to a verb and the reverse one, that a verb is added to an adverb. Both views occur in this introduction. According to Greek grammarians, e.g. Apollonius Dyscolus, in these cases a verb form was to be understood, as Priscian III.90.6–12 notes.

part of speech and function as such. In other words, he discusses cases of *homophony*. He lists several possible cases, partnership with a noun, a verb, a conjunction and a preposition. He now refers to a grammarian Umbrius Primus (we do not know anything about this man),[7] who also discussed this aspect, and Romanus agrees with him on these points. The reason for the concession, however, becomes evident with the following sentence:

"But even Umbrius did not give a place to the interjections."

Now what did Umbrius Primus do? The flow of the argument suggests that he did not recognize partnership between interjections and adverbs, although he accepted the classification of the interjection as a separate part of speech and the partnership of adverbs with other word-classes. Under this interpretation Umbrius Primus is still one of *nostri*, who distinguished interjections from adverbs. This interpretation gives Umbrius Primus a unique position in Latin grammar, because partnership between *all* parts of speech is uncontested in other treatises, but it is the only possible interpretation. For to think that Umbrius Primus did not give a place to interjections because with other grammarians, the Greeks, he put them under the adverbs (of complaint, σχετλιασμοῦ ἐπιρρήματα) is not acceptable in view of the following concessive clause. This phrase suggests that he could have followed those who put interjections under the adverbs but did not do so:

> although the outer line, as it were, could have been ultimately drawn even by those who wished this part of speech to be totally part of the class of adverbs.

Thus we have three stances concerning the position of interjections:[8]

a) they are adverbs (the defenders of this opinion I call "adverbialists");
b) they are an independent part of speech and have no partnership with adverbs (Umbrius Primus);
c) they are an independent part of speech and have partnership with adverbs (Romanus).

Unfortunately, the wording of the concessive clause just quoted is such that what the "adverbialists" could have done remains obscure (see the commentary), but in general their position is clear. At the

[7] See Schmidt § 437.
[8] Cf. Sluiter 1990, 211–3.

same time it is evident that Romanus would never have accepted this stance, for to him interjections are interjections and not adverbs. For the sake of the argument he will defend their view for a moment but no longer than that:

> If someone among them devises in their defence the plea, that it is for this very reason that the Stoics call this part of speech πανδέκτης, 'all-receiver', he will notice that he can be dislodged (from his position) by the very same view he is especially relying on. For although (the adverb) is rightly called 'all-receiver', why then did it not take into partnership the same part of speech of interjection also, and gave it a separate name, unless it was afraid of being laughed at and mocked?

If one takes this line of defence and avers that to call the adverb "all-receiver" implies that interjections are put under this part of speech, Romanus' counterattack consists of taking the Stoic term literally, as an all-receiver, *including partnership*. However, Romanus juggles with the Stoic term. Its proper meaning will be "all-receiver of all kinds of words, those expressing emotions included".[9] We know that the Stoics, and the Greeks in general, did not recognize interjections as a separate part of speech and, accordingly, put them under adverbs. The adverbialists could therefore have used this designation as their defence. But Romanus takes it as "all-receiver, partnership included". Under this interpretation one must, he argues, accept the partnership with the interjection, and, consequently, the existence of the interjection as a separate part of speech. Otherwise, the Stoic term is not the right one.

The next passage (247.17–248.1) offers many problems, not only because of a probable gap in line 24. I first give my translation of the text in which I introduce some corrections of Barwick's text.

> Yet our theory did not thoughtlessly commit itself to its own deliberations in taking its own way when it set this language [or this part of speech] free from the chains of servitude to others. It did so not thoughtlessly and without fearing the attacks of higher placed Greece, which attacks, however, are of no account. Therefore at least, they rendered sagaciously the name this part had been given, but held that interjections (such as *vae, ah,* and *hem*) were to be called <an expression of> derision and lamentation. They adopted this middle course in order to ensure that there would be impunity if Greece ordered that emotions too come under adverbs or, as is often the case, adduced (oblique) cases.

[9] One may compare with this term the view of Servius that all parts of speech become an adverb when they no longer fulfil their original function (see note 3).

The chain of thought is, I think, as follows: Roman grammarians introduced the interjection as a separate part of speech. This act was an act of liberation and emancipation from Greek grammar. When doing so they still feared attacks from Greek grammarians, but these came to nothing. However, at the same time they did not choose this course without consideration. They translated the Greek term παρενθήκη literally by *interiectio.* This was a sagacious move because in this way they accepted exceptions.

The link between interjections and emotions is always made by Roman grammarians, including Julius Romanus 311.14–5: *interiectio est pars orationis motum animi significans* ('interjection is a part of speech expressing the movement of the soul'). At the same time, the same word *interiectio* as a literal translation of the Greek παρενθήκη was also in use in philological and rhetorical texts for any parenthesis, interjection or not, word or word-group. Romanus apparently alludes to this usage, which has a neutral content without any presumption about the interjection as a part of speech, and contrasts this neutral usage with the actual classification of words such as *vae* and *ah* as 'expressions of derision and lamentation'. These expressions are pure interjections in his view. However, even these interjections can become adverbs when they attract (oblique) cases. This happens when e.g. the exclamation *o*, an interjection when used absolutely, is connected with an accusative, as in the famous words of Cicero, *o tempora, o mores.*[10] Romanus has combined these aspects of the theory and linked them to his presentation of the struggle of Roman grammar against Greek theory.

Let us look for a moment at what Romanus has done so far. He started with the *definitio*, then continued with partnership of adverbs with other parts of speech, and so with interjections. He clarifies the status of interjections, and in the meantime offers a kind of doxography. All these items are connected one with another, in such a way, in fact, that when at the end of the part on interjections Romanus treats words such as *o*, we realize that in fact he has come back to partnership. One aspect, however, has received only brief mention and seems to be forgotten, the *adiectio verbi.* Indeed, Romanus does not seem to realize that in *o tempora, o mores* the word *o* can

[10] Probus IV.146.21 ff. and Priscianus III.89.2 ff. See Sluiter 1990, 175–80 and 215.

hardly be an adverb if the *adiectio verbi* is essential to this class of words. But this is a minor objection.

In the next part (248.1–249.24), however, Romanus appears not to at all have forgotten the essential feature of adverbs, viz. their *adiectio verbi.*

> And why am I greatly apprehensive for the strength of pure interjections, when there is the case of what in everyone's opinion are thought to be adverbs? A more refined theory has been unwilling to say that they belong to this part of speech but has set aside these words for the meanings of the interjection. For who did not rather construe the adverbs of addressing *heus* or *ohe* or those of responding *heu* with nouns? With verbs it was impossible to do so, although one might prefer this. For we observe that all paths of adverbs go in company with verbs or by verbs, and without a verb following no meaning can sound. Let us suppose that there is an adverb of place, for instance *illic, istic, hoc, huc, illuc, istoc, and istuc.* Taken by itself it will achieve nothing and will be unable to dissipate the mist in front of the meaning, unless it is coupled with a verb as if some clear light is held in darkness in front of faces. As a result *illic sto, illic ero, illic abeo* or *illic luctabor.* By the accession of the verbs an adverb having much light and meaning comes about.

After this passage we have almost two pages of examples showing that the *adiectio verbi* is essential for the recognition of a word as an adverb. But what of *heus* and *heu*? At 249.19 Romanus comes back to their status:

> Adverbs of address and answer,—how can there be a similar process and sequence, *heus curro, heu veniebant*? It (such a word) is at any rate discordant, is not the associate of that πανδέκτης and deserves to be acknowledged (as its child) by the special force and power of the interjection.

From the foregoing translation it is evident that Romanus is now no longer talking about interjections which can also function as adverbs, such as *o.* These are pure interjections. But there are adverbs that are in doubt, for instance *heus* and *heu.* From the discussion in the other *artes* we know that these words are a matter of dispute. Are they adverbs or not? Romanus refers to a more refined theory that denies them this status because they do not admit the *adiectio verbi* and do not clarify and complete the meaning of the verb. Here it appears that this phenomenon is essential. Witness the case of the adverbs of place, like *illic*; taken by itself it means nothing: only in combination with a verb does it get its full power. But when you

look at *heus* and *heu*, commonly called adverbs of address and answer, you will notice that for *heus curro* this explanation will not do. Romanus does not explain why this is so, but it is evident that *heus* ("ho, ho there!") does not clarify the verb *curro*. Therefore, *heus* and *heu* are interjections and should be acknowledged as such.

The argument runs smoothly, although it does not state clearly why *heus curro* is dissimilar to *illic abeo*; the answer will be that this is self-evident. At the same time, Romanus' contemporary *conoscenti* of the Latin theory will have observed that he neglects the possibility of saving *heus* and *heu* as adverbs by means of a prosodic argument, as found in e.g. Probus IV.146.34 ff.: if *heu* is uttered with some agitation of the soul (*cum animi affectu*), it is an interjection; if on the other hand it is simply uttered, it will be an adverb of answering.[11] But one can appreciate that such a solution could not have been used in Romanus' context.

Of interest is also the implicit way Romanus is reminding his audience of the discussion as to whether the use of the term *adiectio verbi* has as its consequence that an adverb should precede its verb or follow it; in other words, should it be called *praeverbium* or *adverbium*? It looks as if Romanus definitely opts for the first answer: an adverb must be placed before its verb. When we go back to the beginning of the whole text, we see that this interpretation will hold for the first phrases. But we shall not be certain of Romanus' view until p. 248.9 *verbo subsequente*, although all his examples have the adverb before a verb form. On the other hand, we should also observe that Romanus has somewhat changed his position. At first (246.18–22) he suggests, I think, that an adverb supplements the meaning of the verb, whereas later on (248.9) he states that without a following verb an adverb has no sense. But this change is a small one, and easily explicable because of the change of items being discussed. However, at the end of the whole introduction he comes back to this matter of naming and announces that he will discuss the correctness of the names *praeverbium* and *adverbium*,[12] though such a discussion is not found in our MSS, perhaps because Charisius omitted it.

Romanus is a scholar and as a true member of that group he does not hesitate to combat the views of other scholars. He did this

[11] See Sluiter 1990, 213–8.
[12] Cp. Jeep 1893, 268–9.

so with the opinion of Umbrius Primus. There he referred to the theory of the adverbialists as a possible solution for Umbrius' difficulties, although, of course, this reference was no more than *reculer pour mieux sauter*, for their solution was still worse. In the long passage about the *adverbia vocandi respondendive* Romanus is now engaged in a fierce battle with those adverbialists, who wrongly take *heus* and similar words for adverbs.

I have skipped so far the whole part of 248.15 till 249.19. At first blush, it looks as if Romanus just pours out a tremendous number of examples of adverbs that only have a clear sense in combination with a verb. Taken in this way, the passage is a clear example of overkill, for a smaller number of examples would have sufficed. But when we take a closer look we must conclude that the passage has a second function as well. Romanus lists here the *significationes* of the adverb: *adverbia loci, temporis, numeri, negandi, adfirmandi, demonstrandi, hortandi, optandi, voluntatis, ordinis, qualitatis, interrogandi, comparandi, praeferendi, dubitandi, adnuendi, causalis,* and *personalis.* He ends the list by adding *vocandi respondendive* but then he stops, for now the explanation goes awry: *heus* and *heu* are interjections. Thus, while demonstrating his point about the so-called adverbs of address and answer by means of an apparently pointless number of examples, he has at the same time discussed the various *significationes* of the adverb.

This list is not just an enumeration. We find variation in wording, such as l. 9 *loci namque si fuerit adverbium* compared with l. 15 *temporis non minus fiet adverbium* or l. 17 *sed et numeri par causa rationis est* etc. After line 19 there is first acceleration when the *significationes negandi, affirmandi, demonstrandi* and *hortandi* get a very short discussion, but at line 26 (more or less in the middle of the list!) Romanus slows down and we have a digression till 249.2 on *fideicommissum.* Hereafter, acceleration again, and at line 12 Romanus hurries on, but at the end (l. 18) he slows down the presentation, even repeating the main characteristic of an adverb (*adiectio verbi*). He does so in order to strengthen his argument about the non-adverbial status of *heus* and *heu.*

d. *The argument itself: (2) 249.24–251.19*

Fortunately for the adverbialists their situation does not yet seem hopeless: they can have recourse to another subject, that of the *collatio* of adverbs. Very soon, however, it turns out that this conces-

sion is no more than a mode of transition to this subject, and, in fact, one fails to see how they could argue from *collatio.* In this section Romanus takes for granted the gradation itself and does not explain how the comparative and superlative are formed, as the ordinary *artes* do. He is more interested in the correctness of the endings of the superlative: ("Is *tutissimo* a correct form?") and the endings of the *positivus* as well ("Are both *commodo* and *commode* acceptable?") (249.24–251.19). It is interesting to observe that henceforth Romanus is very much concerned about *ratio,* reason or analogy. He had not previously used the term in this sense, but now it crops up time and again (249.31; 250.5, 11; 251.16; 252.6, 18, 20). Evaluative words are also used, such as 250.3 *ferendum*; 251.15 *reprehendenda*; 252.20 *licentius*, and terms like 251.18 *auctoritas*; 252.4 *impunitas* and ib.6 *boni, idonei* (??) are also found; We can explain why this important aspect of language theory is brought into the discussion now and not before. In the argument about the status of *interiectio* versus *adverbium* and that on the *adverbia vocandi respondendive* (and the *significationes*) analogy cannot play a significant role.[13] But the matter of endings in *-e* or *-o* has everything to do with analogy, *ratio,* and *auctoritas.* These notions are also dominant in the last part (251.20–252.21), when Romanus sets out the subject of his work, viz. to discuss *differentia ingenia loquellarum.* He will do so guided by the question whether these forms are correct or not (252.19–21).

After this general discussion of the second main subject of the introduction it is time to look at this text more closely. At first it is taken for self-evident that *collatio* is almost totally restricted to *adverbia qualitatis* and a few *adverbia quantitatis.* There are even adverbs with these *significationes* that do not admit *collatio.*[14] Examples of the first group are *iuste, iustius* and *iustissime; docte, doctius* and *doctissime.* Examples of adverbs without *collatio* are *arcano, sedulo, consulto, tuto* and *clanculo.* Romanus says that *arcano* is totally correct, for we cannot say *arcane,* **arcanius*, **arcanissime.* What he means finally becomes clear at 250.9 *haec* (sc. *sedulo, tuto*) *duo possunt ordines ducere et per augmenta venire sublimius.*[15] Thus Romanus' theory of the gradation of the adverb is that

---

[13] For instance, because as to their form interjections do not follow rules of analogy. See Sluiter 1990, 193–201.

[14] The text here is uncertain. See my commentary.

[15] "These words can form two rows and climb higher by means of augmentation". See commentary *a.l.*

adverbs ending in *-e* admit synthetic gradation (*collatio*), whereas those in *-o* do not but need an analytical method of adding *magis* and *maxime* (or suchlike words).[16] For this reason the Ciceronian *tutissimo* is wrong from the point of view of analogy, but *arcano* is right. In the same way *rare* is the right form, *raro* not.

This analysis shows that Romanus does not intend to give a proper discussion of the gradation of adverbs, but is much more interested in questions of the analogy or anomaly of adverbs in *-e* and *-o*. From his long list of adverbs we get the same impression, for there he deals with forms such as *cotidio ut falso pro cotidie* (255.7), *commodo* and *commode* (255.9–10) and so on. In this list we meet again with forms he had discussed in his introduction, for instance *falso* (259.15–26), *rarissime* (281.1–3), *sedulo* (283.10–4) and *tuto* (286.11–3). It does not matter here that at the latter places he sometimes supports a somewhat different view (thus at 286.11–3), and I refer here to these parallel passages only in order to show Romanus' great interest in these matters.[17]

Notwithstanding the use of *etenim* at the beginning of the immediate sequel (ll. 11–23) to this passage, it has nothing to do with the subject of regularity of certain endings. The mention of *sedulo* brings Romanus to a dispute with Helenius Acron about the meaning of this adverb in a line from Terence. At l. 23 (*sed*) Romanus returns from his digression to the subject proper. He now disputes the view of certain grammarians that the endings *-e* and *-o* "help one another by right of their *consortium*". From the following words about the interchange between *Voturii* and *Veterii* one may deduce that Romanus interprets their words as meaning that because of their community of letters these endings can be used indiscriminately and without any difference in sense. This would be a rather strange position, and in view of e.g. Diomedes 405.28 *sunt adverbia cum nominibus communia, ut subito, sedulo* I prefer to think that Romanus deliberately misinterpreted their view. What they mean to say is that because of *consortium* with nouns adverbs can end in *-o*, whereas the usual ending is in *-e*. Another solution is that these people made a comment on the interchangeability of the letters *e* and *o* in general, not specifically at the ending of adverbs. At any rate at ll. 28 ff. Romanus agrees with the following rule about these endings: "in adverbs the ending *-o*

[16] Cp. Diomedes *GL* I.405.24.

[17] Cp. Char. 237.14–30 with a similar discussion about the analogical forms and the role of *auctoritas* and *consuetudo* and Diomedes 406.4–30.

now overcomes *-e*, now is overcome, now alternates, now is equal to it" (see also 259.21–26). The wording of this rule is such that it allows much leeway, in so far as it does not specify the circumstances under which the four possibilities may be realized, but in this kind of text such a precision would be unwelcome. Romanus, it is true, exemplifies the four cases with existing forms, which are in use in his time: *cum dicimus liquido, cum rarissime dicimus, cum possumus dicere digno te et indigno te fecisti et cum digne et indigne.*[18] The last case is that of equality of the two endings; it is said to be frequent *in multis generibus istius modi dictionis.* The proof comes from authority, not daily speech: *commodo, commodeque, ut Plautus in Frivolaria 'commodo dictitemus', 'commode Titinius.'*[19]

After another digression about the dialect in the region of Picenum (251.8–10) Romanus goes on to talk about the attitude of the older writers towards this case of parity in endings. The examples from Plautus and Titinius prepared, as it were, his way to this item. The *veteres* eagerly seized this opportunity, witness the use of *cotidio* by Q. Caepio. It now looks as if Romanus has thrown overboard all superioriy of *ratio* in word formation, for he leaves his reader in doubt whether this procedure of the *veteres* is a matter of opportunity, or analogy, or elegance of style. However, at line 15 he states that though this usage is irregular he does not formally condemn it. Thus analogy has been restored to its primary position.

e. *The argument itself: (3) 251.20–252.31*

The third part of the introduction does not concern the theory of the adverb proper but rather deals with the goals Romanus sets himself in his list of adverbs and his method of presenting this material. At the same time, however, there are many links with the subject of analogy, treated in the second part, and on the whole it is better to take this third part as being closely connected with the immediately preceding one.

By means of a transitional particle (*nam*) Romanus introduces a reference to what happens in discussions of dialectics, that highly

---

[18] "When we say *liquido*, when we say *rarissimo*, when we can say *digno te* and *indigno te fecisti, commodo and commode*". For the view of Latin grammarians on the ablative absolute construction see Sluiter 2000.

[19] See my commentary *a.l.* for this text.

respectable discipline, if not the most respectable of all. The experts in this field do not agree on the status and essence of dialectics. The suggestion is that if such a disagreement is tolerated, Romanus may expect all the more to obtain from his readers freedom to speak his mind, when he discusses the various meanings of adverbs. He will not do so recklessly and will defend his interpretations with quotations from suitable authors, and thus in acting moderately will confer on these the status of regularity. Evidently Romanus is coming to the end of his introduction, and together with stating the purposes of his long list of adverbs asks in advance for his readers' tolerance.

Romanus illustrates his method by a discussion of Sisenna's usage of the ending in *-o*. This ending is reserved for adverbs of quality, and in agreement with this rule Sisenna uses *quanti* and *tanti*. Notwithstanding his knowledge of this rule he also says somewhere else *non magno stabit*, whereas *consuetudo* rightly says *magni te facit*.

So far Romanus has asked for *impunitas disserendi* and at the same time set out his goals. Now he focuses on these aims. In an elegant phrase, which by its reference to the use of *saepenumero* in Cicero's works and to his own source, Statilius Maximus, already illustrates his method, he states his objects: to explain what adverbs are used in the correct form and which are not. At the same time he suggests that his work is the result of many requests by his friends to produce such a book.

The first of the last parts of his 'epilogue' concern the name of his subject. Is it *adverbium* or *praeverbium*, or should one with Suetonius Tranquillus use both terms according to the position (after or before their verb) of the word in question? Either Romanus does not go further into this question and only shows that he is aware of learned discussions on this subject, or more probably, Charisius has shortened his text here.

The final phrases contain another reference to his readers as well as a *critique* of existing discussions of the adverbs in other *artes*: Romanus aims at ease of reading for his readers, and therefore he will arrange his material in an alphabetical order, not by their *significationes* or their regular formation. We know examples of these two principles of arrangement (see commentary) and can understand Romanus' implicit censure. His own order is indeed more suitable to his material, but less fit for a systematic exposition, as given in the *artes*.

Romanus ends with a justification of his method: not only to promote ease of reading but for an internal reason also. The Stoics

called the adverb 'the all-receiver', because it collects all kinds of forms without distinction; and thus, Romanus suggests, it needs a definite ordering.

f. *The argument as a whole*

If we look at the structure of this introduction as a whole, its deliberate character becomes clear. The order of the items discussed is not arbitrary or just a product of associations in the mind of Romanus. At first it looks as if the matter of definition spontaneously brings him to that of the interjections and thus to the item of partnership, and so on. On further consideration, however, we realize that Romanus first deals with those subjects that have little or nothing to do with the theory of analogy. In discussing definition, partnership with other parts of speech, the relation to interjections and the *significationes* first he has, as it were, cleared the way for the items that are closely related to the "Kriterien der Sprachrichtigkeit" *ratio, auctoritas* and *consuetudo.* Moreover, it now appears that Romanus focuses his whole introduction on two subjects, viz. the relationship between adverb and interjection on the one hand, and the correctness of the endings in *-e* and *-o* on the other. We might even say that the first part on adverbs v. interjections is a consequence of the definition, with its essential trait of *adiectio verbi.* When we realize this, we also understand that a discussion of other endings, such as those in *-ter,* would have been confusing to the reader. In fact, matters of *ratio* and *consuetudo* play a role for those other adverbs too, witness the discussion at pp. 128.7 and 265.18 on *large* and *largiter.* But to introduce these endings, and others as well, at this point would bring nothing new to the argument, only confusion. A similar explanation will serve for the omission of any discussion of the aspect of *figura.*[20]

In selecting two main items for discussion, first the relationship between the adverb and the interjection and second the endings of adverbs in *-e* and *-o,* Romanus has managed to bring into the discussion two controversial items, the *adiectio verbi* and the criteria for the correct formation of adverbs. At the same time he has introduced other aspects of the theory, such as the name, the definition

[20] For the same reason Romanus refrains from discussing other aspects of the theory of interjection. For this matter see Sluiter 1990, ch. 4 and also Biville 1996.

and the *significationes*. Coupled with this method of selection we also note an economy which enables Romanus to omit items, in this way avoiding to trouble his readers with non-essential subjects. Of course, this approach to the theory of the adverb is only possible when knowledge of the whole theory is taken for granted.

g. *Rhetorical aspects of the introduction*

The artfulness of the essay on the adverb is first and foremost detectable in the selection and arrangement of the subjects discussed. I have dealt with this aspect in the foregoing sections and shall not repeat my results here. In this section I shall go into the more external features of choice of words and other means of embellishment. The aspect of the structure of the ends of phrases deserves a discussion of its own because of its links with prose rhythm. Finally, my discussion will not be exhaustive, and more material can be found in the commentary.

A striking feature of Romanus' style is its abundance. Often two words will be put when one would have been sufficient. Thus at 247.18 *rideri et inludi*, or 251.20 *dialecticae statum . . . nec substantiam* and 247.10 *deliberationi suae sententiisque* with their *congeries* of synonyms and *variatio* in grammatical number. One can also point at 249.17–8 *per eandem viam tenoremque rationis*. For the same reason *periphrasis* is often used, for example at 247.6–7 the periphrasis *coniunctionum nexibus strictiore* is brought in to vary the list of cases of *consortium*, and at 248.4 *interiectionis sensibus*.

Convoluted phrases are found everywhere, a phenomenon which often makes the text difficult to understand, as my commentary shows again and again. Romanus tries to express several ideas in one sentence, and relies heavily on the reader's ability to separate these and understand the underlying purpose. I only refer to the long transitional sentence in 251.20–251.7 about the status of dialectics with definitions in Greek, followed by a plea for tolerance on the part of his readers and a first expression of the purpose of his list of adverbs. Another example is 249.31–250.1.

Figures of style and thought are a means of embellishment also. They occur many times, thus at 250.21–3 chiasmus is attained *de satisfactione criminis dolique* (hendiadys) *certandum esset ac non prae se ferendum de ostentatione meritorum* by the collocation of words and the insertion of *ostentatione*, a word that is superfluous after *prae se ferendum*. Rhetorical

questions are much loved by Romanus, especially in transitional passages, like 248.1 and 247.15–6. With the phrase *non quia nesciam* (*negem*) (247.3; 250.25 and 251.27) he uses *anticipatio* in order to refute a possible objection. *Personificatio* occurs at 247.16–8, a rather far-fetched one where *adverbium* is personified, to give one example only. Connected with this figure is the use of images, thus the *personificatio* of *adverbium* stands in a passage which concerns the emancipation of Latin linguistics from Greek dominance. The Latin theory clears its own way, throws off the chains of servitude and fears the attacks from the Greeks from above. At 251.16–19 we come across the images that *ratio* is sometimes weak, does not stay with its own rules, succumbs to the enticements of others, and proclaims its allegiance to the authority of the old writers.

I have referred several times to the use of *variatio*. It is interesting to see that after the dry enumeration of the cases where the ending *-o* supplants that in *-e*, is supplanted, alternates, or is equal (250.29–30), Romanus exemplifies these possiblities with three examples taken from daily speech and one from the tradition. But in his examples he uses a variety of expressions: *dicimus, disserimus, dicimus, possumus dicere*. A yet better example is the long passage in which the various *significationes* of the adverb are enumerated (248.9–249.10). The introduction of each individual *significatio* is at first different: *loci namque si fuerit adverbium* (9–10); *temporis non minus fiet adverbium* (16–17); *sed et numeri par causae rationis est* (17–18). Then several items follow one another in a rapid enumeration: *negandi* (19); *adfirmandi* (20); *demonstrandi* (22); *hortandi* (23) and *optandi* (26). At this point, right in the middle of the whole list, Romanus introduces a kind of *rallentando* by inserting a remark about the interpretation of last wills. The items that now follow are again given in a varied phrasing (*ordinis item produntur adverbia* 249.2–3) and *non minus expedit qualitatis* (4) and then again in a rapid succession: *interrogandi* (5); *comparandi quoque ita est* (8); *praeferendi* (13); *dubitandi* (14); *adnuendi* (15); *causalia* (16); *personalia etiam* (16–17); and the last item *vocandi respondendive* (19–20). But here he interrupts himself and shows that the last item does not belong here.

h. *Prose-rhythm*

Another distinctive feature of Romanus' expert command of his medium is the presence of prose-rhythm throughout this introduction. Prose-rhythm, "the quantitative or accentual arrangement of

syllables, articulating the sentence and defining its close" (*OCD*² *s.v.*), manifests itself at the endings of clauses, phrases and sentences. In the quantitative or metrical arrangement metrical units with long or short syllables, such as the cretic (— ∪ —), determine the *clausula*, and the *ictus*, or the first syllable of each unit, is of more importance than the natural accent of a word or words. In the accentual prose-rhythm, or *cursus*, which is used from Ammianus Marcellinus onwards, but especially in Medieval Latin, the word-accents of the last two words or word-groups before the end of clauses and sentences and the number of unaccented syllables between them define its character. There was a transitional period in which the clausula was structured along both accentual and metrical lines. This species of prose-rhythm is called *cursus mixtus*. Because Romanus will turn out to use this mixed type, I shall focus my discussion on it.

The *cursus mixtus* is "the occurrence of four standard metrical forms derived from Cicero's clausular system [. . .] within the parameters of the accentual schemes of the *cursus*".[21] The four standard metrical forms are: cretic-spondee (— ∪ — — ×), dicretic (— ∪ — — ∪ ×), cretic-tribrach (— ∪ — ∪ ∪ ×), and ditrochee (— ∪ — ×). There are three basic cadences of the later system, having either two unaccented syllables between the two accented ones (*planus* and *tardus*) or four of these syllables (*velox*). In the *cursus planus* there is one unaccented syllable after the second word-accent, and in the *tardus* there are two. In the *velox* there is at that place one only. Thus:

Planus: ó o o ó o (*pórtam serváre*; *redíre non póssum*);
Tardus: ó o o ó o o (*véstra cognóvimus; praeésse dignátus est*);
Velox: ó o o o o ó o (*experiéntiae conlaudámus; nóvit et impugnáre*).

The occurrence of the standard metrical schemes within the parameters of the accentual schemes means that "the *planus* contains either the cretic-spondee (*epístulae nóstrae*) or the ditrochee (*mánu feríre*); the *tardus* either the dicretic (*cárcer inclúderet*) or the cretic-tribrach (*éstis indígenae*); the *velox* either the ditrochee (*experiéntiam singulórum*) or the cretic-spondee (*nímium videbátur*). Authors employing the *cursus mixtus*, however, desired as a rule of thumb an exact coincidence between accent and ictus and therefore favoured the *planus*/cretic-spondee, *tardus*/dicretic or cretic-tribrach and *velox*/ditrochee" (Oberhelman *l.c.*). Thus:

---

[21] Oberhelman 1988, 228.

Planus/cretic-spondee:	*epístulae nóstrae*:	ó o o ó o ≈ — ∪ — — ×;
Tardus/dicretic:	*cárcer inclúderet*:	ó o o ó o o ≈ — ∪ — — ∪ ×;
Tardus/cretic-tribrach:	*éstis indígenae*:	ó o o ó o o ≈ — ∪ — ∪ ∪ ×;
Velox/ditrochee:	*experiéntiam singulórum*:	ó o o o o ó o ≈ — ∪ — ×.

This survey clearly shows that the exact coincidence between accent and ictus, if present, may sometimes apply to the last accent only (witness the example for *velox*).

This system of the *cursus mixtus* knows a variant tradition in which apart from the three standard accentual rhythms there are four more accentual schemes. These are:

Trispondaicus:	ó o o o ó o,	equivalent to first paeon-spond. (— ∪ ∪ ∪ — ×), *inveníre valeátis*;
Medius:	ó o ó o o,	equivalent to trochee-cretic (— ∪ — ∪ ×), *repúgnant spíritus*;
Dispondaicus:	ó o ó o,	equivalent to ditrochee (— ∪ — ×), *actiónes sólvat*);
Dispondeus dactylicus:	ó o o o ó o o,	equivalent to paeon-cretic/tribrach (— ∪ ∪ ∪ — ∪ × or — ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ×), *fírme constitúere* or *necessitátibus subícere.*

In the case of Romanus' introduction all these accentual schemes are found, but among the about 43 final clausulae[22] there is a distinct preference for the *planus* (13 times) and the *velox* (11), whereas the *tardus* is found 6 times. The four other schemes occur more rarely: *trispondaicus* 3 times, *medius* 2, *dispondaicus* 4 and *dispondeus dactylicus* 4 times. Examples of each scheme are:

Planus:	247.15	*únde confídit*	ó o o ó o	*cret.- spond.*
Tardus:	248.1	*ésset impúnitas*	ó o o ó o o	*dicret.*
Velox	249.2	*benefíciis crederémus*	ó o o o o ó o	*ditroch.*
Trispond.	250.22	*ésse reperíri*	ó o o o ó o	*paeon-spond.*
Medius	247.22	*támen núlli sunt*	ó o ó o o	*troch.-cret.*
Dispond.	250.3	*ínquit éssent*	ó o ó o	*ditroch.*
Disp. Dact.	249.29	*ésse profitébitur*	ó o o o ó o o	*paeon-cret.*

[22] The number of sentence-endings depends on the constitution of the text. For instance, contrary to Barwick's edition I put a full stop at 252.15 after *multi*. Other cases will be found in my commentary.

Coincidence between accent and *ictus* is present almost everywhere but not e.g. 248.6 *potuit, lícet mállet: dispondaicus* ó o ó o but cret.-spond. and similarly 251.19 *viribus mánus trádens.*

The internal clausulae offer the same picture. Out of some 76 phrase-endings[23] *planus* is used 16 times, *tardus* 19, *velox* 16, and the four other schemes less often: *trisp.* 9, *medius* 4, *dispondaicus* 5 and *dispond. dact.* 7 times. A few examples may suffice:

Planus	248.8	*síve per vérba*	ó o o ó o
Tardus	247.4–5	*iúncta consórtiis*	ó o o ó o o
Velox	247.6	*néxibus strictióra*	ó o o o o ó o
Trispond.	249.26	*pósse fateáris*	ó o o o ó o
Medius	250.18	*sálus crédita est*	ó o ó o o
Dispond.	247.26	*múltis sólet*	ó o ó o
Disp. dact.	249.19	*vocándi respondéndive*	ó o o o ó o o

Coincidence between accent and *ictus* is absent from few endings only. Thus, 250.18 *vita sálus crédita est* (*medius* X *dicretic*).

Word-order may be influenced by the need to produce a good clausula. Thus at 250.27–8 *lepidi pictura sermonis* (*planus*, — ◡ — — ×) is found, not *pictura lepidi sermonis.* In the very last words of the introduction (252.31) *concessa sibi rerum vária potestáte* (*velox*, — ◡ — ◡ — — — ×) Romanus achieves a fine rhythm by means of *enallage* (see commentary).

Wilhelm Kroll, the first scholar to draw attention to the presence of prose-rhythm in this introduction,[24] uses the presence of prose-rhythm for the constitution of the text at 252.18 and proposes to read, instead of (*ut in ceteris an ratio*) *téneat exámen* (◡ ◡ ◡ — — ×), (*ut in ceteris an ratio*) *téneat examinémus* (◡ ◡ ◡ — — ◡ — ×). The change is unnecessary, for *teneat examen* (*trispond.*) too has a good rhythm (see commentary).

According to Oberhelman (241–2) "until the beginning of the third century prose rhythms were metrical", and "in the opening decades of the third century the rhetorical schools in northern Africa began teaching the accommodation of word-stress in the formulation of the metrical clausulae. This coincidence of both metre and accent in the

---

[23] It is often impossible to decide whether in his examples of usages of adverbs Romanus applied prose-rhythm or not. Thus, in the long list of adverbs on pages 248 and 249, one will observe that sentence-endings usually have rhythm, phrase-endings often do not have.

[24] Kroll 1924, 95 n. 195: "es ist vielleicht noch nicht bemerkt, dass er die Klausel beobachtet".

same clausula is called by modern scholars *cursus mixtus.* [. . . .]. The *cursus mixtus* may have been taught elsewhere as well. Or even invented in another region; however, it is found only in African authors for the first eighty-odd years of the third century". Our analysis has shown that Romanus is another early representative of this usage. He may have been stimulated by the teachings of the third-century grammarian M. Plotius Sacerdos, who describes (*GL* VI.492 ff.) the clausulae in metrical terms of long and short syllables but selects them by accentual prejudice[25] and only recommends those which follow the *cursus.*[26]

h. *Functions of the introduction and its place in Latin literature*

To call the text of 246.18–252.31 an "introduction" is justified by its presence before the long list of adverbs (253.1–289.17), which Romanus appends after this text. If a reader wonders to what purpose Romanus wrote the first five pages of the text, the final page will give him a definite answer, for there Romanus announces several times what he will do:

> . . . I will dwell on the different meanings of words. This investigation should be executed with the more moderation in order that we replace analogy by the examples from suitable authors. (252.4–7);
>
> . . . and we shall investigate what has been put forward in agreement with the duties of the correct and established theory of analogy and what with less restraints (252.19–21).
>
> But in order that ease of reading be available without being asked for, we may go not through the distinctive qualities and species of this part of speech [. . .], but first of all along the initial letters (252.25–29).

Thus we have to do with a text which serves as an introduction to an alphabetical list of adverbs, in which much attention will be paid to the rules of analogy. The examples will come from the suitable authors, and Romanus will state whether they conform to analogy or not. Indeed, in the long list of adverbs these questions will be

[25] Nicolau 1930, 101–6. In the square brackets in the quotation given above Oberhelman says: "(no contemporary—grammarian, rhetorician or otherwise—discusses this prose rhythm)". But Nicolau proves otherwise.

[26] Wilkinson 1963, 163. Cf. Leonhardt 1989, 56–66, esp. 58–60. To all appearances Diomedes (*GL* I.464–71, *de compositione*, esp. 468.23 ff.) follows the same procedure.

answered time and again, although mere explanation of the meaning of a particular adverb will also occur.

However, if the function of the final page is that of introducing the list, what about the first five pages? We have seen that they discuss the theory of the adverb, but in a peculiar way, with attention to specific aspects of this theory and omission of other items, such as *figura*. Thus, they do not give a complete survey of all facets of the theory. We even found that they presuppose a reader with knowledge of the complete theory.

Further, this introduction with its subsequent list of adverbs is part of a much larger book, the Ἀφορμαί, of which we have at least one more introduction, that on prepositions (pp. 307.17–311.2). This is totally different in style and approach to its subject, more factual as in other grammars, although it has a strong bias in favour of old and rare prepositions. The anomalous character of our introduction makes the search for a satisfying answer concerning the function of the text the more necessary.[27]

This function can be detected on two levels. One is that of allowing Romanus to express his ideas on several much-discussed items of the theory, namely those of the relationship of adverbs with interjections and the role of *adiectio verbi* in the case of *heus* and *heu*; and the application of rules of analogy in the formation of adverbs in *-e* and *-o*. On this technical level he shows his mastery of the subject. But he could have given this proof of his mastery in a simple way through a very prosaic text. Instead, he has chosen a very elaborate approach. Therefore, he must have had an ulterior motive. This can only have been to show how one can deal with a dry and technical subject in the manner of a *littérateur*, and this is the second function, one which is located on the higher level of literature.

Through this function Romanus sides with many other authors in Antiquity on the one hand, but is unique on the other. We have many examples of writers, both Greek and Roman, who tackle technical and similar subjects in a literary way. We may omit here the didactic epics of Hesiod, for poetry was then the usual vehicle, and not prose. But this kind of poetry was picked up in Hellenistic times by Aratus and Nicander—to give two examples only—, when they

[27] As I have said in ch. II.d and note 24 there, the introduction to the chapter on endings of nouns (I.15, 61.16–63.16) has a style which may remind one of Romanus. However, because its provenance is uncertain I leave it out of the discussion here.

wrote their poems on stars and other heavenly phenomena and on snakes respectively. This line was continued in Latin literature by Lucretius (philosophy), Vergil (farming), Manilius (astronomy), Horace (poetics), Grattius Faliscus and Nemesianus (hunting) and many others. Even grammarians and rhetoricians followed this course: thus we have the *Carmen de figuris* by an anonymous and three books written in verse by Terentianus Maurus on letters, syllables and metres. All these authors have in common that their works on technical and similar subjects are written in verse, whereas Romanus' introduction is in prose.

At the Latin side, many prose prefaces to otherwise factual and dry treatises are composed with greater or lesser rhetorical competence, such as those to Vitruvius' *De architectura* and Pliny's *Naturalis Historia*, but these compositions are dedicatory letters to higher placed persons and not comparable to our text at all. Of course, Cicero's *De oratore* is a highly literary work dealing with technical subjects at the same time. This dialogue contains a preface to book I of an idiosyncratic character, in which several problems are solved, as it were, before in book I they receive their full discussion.[28] Nevertheless, it would be wrong to make a comparison between this preface and Romanus' introduction.

As far as I can see, this introduction is totally unique in Latin (and Greek) literature for its treatment of a technical subject in such a rhetorical manner.

In a private letter (25.01.2002) Donald Russell suggested to me that Romanus' text looks like "a piece of self-recommendation or advertisement" and he recalled the "grey area" between the grammarian and the rhetorician (cp. Quintilian 2.1): "It might be in a grammarian's interest to display rhetorical skills, so as to show that he could teach these also!" Though I will leave open the possibility that Romanus was not a professional grammarian (see ch. II.a), the general tenor of Russell's view may well be right.

j. *The form of the introduction*

At times it seems possible to read the introduction as a public speech, delivered by Romanus to an audience, which he addresses one time

[28] *M. Tullius Cicero, De oratore libri III. Kommentar* von A.D. Leeman – H. Pinkster, Heidelberg, Winter, 1. Band 1981, 13–6.

explicitly (252.16 'you never stop to urge us'). Also his repeated usage of *concessio* and *antecipatio* ('it is not that I do not know') would fit into this picture. Yet the lack of a speech structure with proem, argument, and epilogue pleads against this idea.[29]

But how then to characterize this text? In modern terms we might speak of an essay, at least up to the final part. For a typology in ancient terms it seems to be fruitful to look at works dealing with technical subjects, philosophy included, with some rhetorical traits.

In general the first candidate is then πραγματεία, a very vague indication of a work dealing with technical/philosophical subjects; but the known πραγματεῖαι have very little to do with rhetorical approach. Another candidate is the term σύγγραμμα, another word for a treatise on specific subjects and of a more finished character than an ὑπόμνημα.[30]

Several treatises of Philo Judaeus and Plutarch may come to mind, for these deal with philosophical themes and are composed as *theses*.[31] These, and similar treatises, have as their subject something that is not necessarily true, and are, consequently, always disputative in character, arguing *pro* and *contra* their proposition. The structure of the *thesis* is often tripartite (i.e. proemium, arguments *pro*, arguments *contra*), but not necessarily so; it is presented in the form of a dialogue, a treatise or an essay. Plutarch can use this form in a playful manner, when he opens his *Quaestiones convivales* with a discussion whether one should be allowed to have philosophical discussion when drinking after dinner, and puts it in the form of a *thesis*.[32] This form was much studied and practised in rhetorical schools (it was one of the προγυμνάσματα),[33] and thus could easily have been used by Romanus here. Notwithstanding some superficial likenesses I think, however, that the absence of any discussion *pro* and *contra* from Romanus' text forbids us to link it with *theses*.

One might also think of διαλέξεις, such as are known from Maximus of Tyre. Here we find lectures on philosophical themes put forward

---

29 *Declamationes* (μελέται) do not come into the picture here, therefore.

30 See Schenkeveld 1997, 255–6.

31 Philo, *De aeternitate mundi* and Plutarch, *Aquane an ignis sit utilior*. See D.Th. Runia, Philo's De aternitate mundi. The Problem of its Interpretation, *VChr* 35, 1981, 105–52. See also the examples in Throm 1932, 78–9.

32 See my Plutarch's First Table-Talk (612E–615C), in L. Van der Stockt (ed.), *Plutarchea Lovaniensia. A Miscellany of Essays on Plutarch* (Studia Hellenistica 32), Louvain 1996, 257–64.

33 Kennedy 1983, 54–70.

in a highly rhetorical style.[34] On the Latin side, in *De deo Socratis* Apuleius "assumes the stance of an orator and a philosopher [. . .]. Platonic doctrines form the backbone of his discourse and quotations from many poets are interwoven into the argument."[35] A subclass, as it were, of this group is formed by the (προ)λαλιά, introductory pieces to extensive lectures or speeches. Existing examples from Lucian have a totally different content from Romanus' introduction, and Apuleius' *Florida*, which scholars have also typified as *prolaliai*, are not quite comparable. On the other hand, their authors "come across as as interesting, intelligent, and enjoyable entertainers", as has been said of Lucian.[36]

An exact parallel in Greek and Latin literature to Romanus' introduction is lacking. On the whole, however, one may be inclined to typify it as a kind of lecture, given as a demonstration of what can be done with a grammatical theme. Even so we do not have a completely satisfactory solution for this answer does not solve the problem why in the course of his complete work, which was a large one, Romanus decided to put the introductory pages to this particular subject into the form we now have. The circumstances of the genesis of this literary product are not known to us and, probably, will never be disclosed, Therefore a definite answer to this question cannot be given.

[34] See M.B. Trapp, *Maximus of Tyre, The Philosophical Orations*, Oxford: Clarendon Press 1997.
[35] Schenkeveld 1997, 262.
[36] H.G. Nesselrath, Lucian's Introductions, in: D.A. Russell (ed.), *Antonine Literature*, Oxford: Clarendon Press 1990, 140.

TEXT OF AND APPARATUS CRITICUS TO C. IULIUS ROMANUS, *DE ADVERBIO* 246.18–252.31 BA.

The line division of Barwick's text has been preserved throughout this text. This critical apparatus is largely derivative, being mainly based on the apparatus in Barwick's edition, except for the annotations of Cauchius. At the same time it is also selective, for discussions of the text in my commentary have been the main criterion of selection.

Sigla

N	=	codex Neapolitanus IV A 8, olim Bobiensis, saec. VII/VIII (see ch. I. note 27)
n	=	codex Neapolitanus IV A 10, saec. XV/XVI
Ed. pr.	=	Editio princeps Neap. anno 1532
C	=	Excerpta ex deperdito codice Cauchii ante a. 1551 facta
Cauch.	=	Cauchius coniecit (see Appendix I)
Fab.	=	G. Fabricius (in ed. Charisii a. 1551)
Pu.	=	Putschen (in ed. Charisii a. 1605)
Lind.	=	F. Lindemann (in ed. Charisii a. 1840)
Lachm	=	K. Lachmann (see bibliography)
K	=	H. Keil (in ed. Charisii = *GL* I, a. 1857)
Christ	=	W. Christ a. 1862 (see bibliography)
Ba.	=	K. Barwick (in ed. Charisii a. 1925)
Kroll	=	W. Kroll 1924 (see bibliography)
TLL	=	(the redactor of a lemma in) *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*
Kleyw.	=	A.J. Kleywegt (per epistolam)
Wint.	=	M. Winterbottom (per epistolas)
Zetzel	=	J. Zetzel (see bibliography)
Ego	=	D.M. Schenkeveld
{ }	=	*locus desperatus*
*	=	*lacuna*

Editiones fragmentorum

FDS	=	*Die Fragmente zur Dialektik der Stoiker*, ed. K. Hülser (see bibliography)
CRF	=	*Comicorum Romanorum Fragmenta*, ed. O. Ribbeck, ²1873, ³1898
ORF	=	*Oratorum Romanorum Fragmenta*, ed. H. Malcovati, ²1955, ³1967
HRR	=	*Historicorum Romanorum Reliquiae*, ed. H. Peter
R	=	*C. Suetoni Tranquilli praeter 'Caesarum' libros reliquiae*, ed. A. Reifferscheid, 1860.
Zetzel	=	see bibliography.

THE INTRODUCTION TO ROMANUS' BOOK *DE ADVERBIO*

246

C. Iulius Romanus ita refert de adverbio sub titulo ἀφορμῶν: Adverbium est pars orationis quae adiecta verbo significationem eius explanat atque implet. Est enim verbum *scribo*, cui si adiciatur *bene* sive *male*, quod est adverbium, faciet *bene scribo, male scribo.* Eadem est in Graecis adverbiis <isdem> cum partibus constitutio, ἐπίρρημά ἐστιν μέρος λόγου ἄκλιτον ἐπὶ τὸ ῥῆμα τὴν ἀναφορὰν ἔχον.

Qua ratione igitur σχετλιασμοῦ δηλωτικὰ ἐπιρρήματα dixerint parum specto. Quam partem orationis nostri, non ut numerum octo partium

---

18 C. C G. N **23** <isdem> cum partibus *Wint.* cum partibus *Pu.* cum artibus N **26** dixerint *K* dixerunt N

TRANSLATION

(C. Iulius Romanus writes on the subject of adverbs in his book entitled *Starting Points* as follows):

246.18 An adverb is a part of speech that when added to a verb clarifies and completes its meaning. For instance, there is a verb *I write.* If one adds to it *well* or *badly,* which are adverbs, one will get *I write well, I write badly.* The same placing together with (the same) parts of speech occurs in the case of Greek adverbs, 'an adverb is an undeclinable part of speech, which has its reference to its verb'. How then they [i.e. the Greeks] were able to call 'words expressing complaint adverbs' I fail to see. Our men have separated out this part of speech, not in order to fill up the number of eight parts of speech because of the absence of the article, the Greek *arthron,* but because they perceived that it could not be an adverb.

247

articulo, id est τῷ ἄρθρῳ, deficiente supplerent, sed quia videbant adverbium esse non posse, segregaverunt. Non quia nesciam quaedam aliis partibus orationis adverbia esse communia et velut nominis iuncta consortiis, ut *gratis, falso, vero, subito, domi est, domo venit*; nec minus verbo, ut *occulto*; item coniunctionum nexibus strictiora, ut cum dicimus, inquit Umbrius Primus, *ubi, si, ut, ergo*; aut praepositionibus similia, ut *pro, sub, prae, propter.* Et Umbrius tamen interiectionibus locum non dedit, cum velut extrema linea duci postremo vel ab his posset qui eam orationis partem adverbii totam esse voluerunt.

Quorum siquis defensionis ineat tutamen, quod idcirco πανδέκτης a Stoicis ea pars orationis habeatur (*FDS* # 580), eodem illo summoveri se posse respiciet unde maxime confidit. Nam cum πανδέκτης iure dicatur, cur non alligavit ad consortium sui eam quoque interiectionis partem vocavitque secretius, nisi quia rideri metuit et inludi? Tamen ne nostra quidem ratio temere se deliberationi suae sententiisque permisit, quin separando viam propriae virtutis cum orationem istam vinclis alienae servitutis eximeret, non etiam timeret altioris exitus Graeciae, qui tamen nulli sunt. Itaque nomen ei <parti> partitum tamen acriter reddiderunt, interiectionem vero, <ut> *vae, ah, hem,* cachinnum gemitumve dici media pergentes aestimaverunt, ut inter adverbia quoque pergere si iuberet adfectus vel, ut in multis solet,

---

4 nominum *Wint.* **6** occulto C subito N consulto *K* **9** interiectionibus C interiectib. N **10** extremae (e *in* ae *deleto*) lineae C **12** quorum N quoniam C<id> defensionis *sive* defensionis <id> *Wint.* **13** tutamen C tamen N tramitem *K* **14** illos C summovere C **15** respiciet N respicietur *superscr.* repetietur Cunde maxime confidunt C unde confidit N Nam cum N, *edd.* Nam si *Wint.* **16** alligavit *Ba.* alligit N aliquid C alliget *Fab.* eandem C **17** vocavitque *Ba.* vocavitve (?) N vocavere C **21** vinculis C **22** altioris *Ba.* alterioris C **23** *inserui* ei partitum N experti tamen *al.* et partitum tamen C ei parti tam *Ba.* ei parti tamen *Wint.* **24** vero <ut> *vae, ah, hem* cachinnum *ego* ve cachinnum N vero * cachinnum n vae.ah.he.num C **25** aestimaverunt N existimaverunt C **26** in multis *Fab.* id multis NC

247.3 It is not that I do not know that some adverbs have partnership with other parts of speech and are joined by community with e.g. the noun, such as *gratuitously, wrongly, certainly, suddenly, he is at home, he comes from home.* Not less so with the verb, such as *secretly*; likewise they are closely knit with conjunctions, as "when we use", to quote Umbrius Primus, "*where, or, how, therefore*"; or adverbs are similar to prepositions, such as *by, beneath, in front, beyond.* But even Umbrius did not give a place to the interjections, although the outer line, as it were, could have been ultimately drawn (?) even by those who wished this part of speech to be totally part of the class of adverbs.

247.12 If someone among them devises in their defence the plea that it is for this very reason that the Stoics call this part of speech *pandectes*, 'all-receiver', he will notice that he can be dislodged (from his position) by the very same view he is especially relying on. For although (the adverb) is rightly called 'all-receiver', why then did it not take into partnership with itself the same part of speech of interjection also, and gave it a separate name, unless it was afraid of being laughed at and mocked?

247.18 Yet, our theory too did not thoughtlessly commit itself to its own deliberations in taking its own way when it set this language [or this part of speech?] free from the chains of servitude to others. It did so not thoughtlessly and without fearing the attacks of higher placed Greece, which attacks, however, are of no account. Therefore at least, they rendered sagaciously the name this part had been given, but held that interjections, such as *alas, ah,* and *alack,* were to be called <an expression of> derision and lamentation. They adopted this middle course in order to ensure that there would be impunity if Greece ordered that emotions too come under adverbs or, as is often the case, adduce (oblique) cases.

248

casus adferre, esset inpunitas. Et quid ego de meris interiectionis viribus pertimesco, cum etiam quae omnium confessione putantur adverbia ratio subtilior eius partis esse noluerit sed interiectionis sensibus reservarit? Quis enim vocandi *heus* vel *ohe* respondendive <*heu*> non potius nominibus adiunxerit? Nec verbis potuit, licet mallet. Omnes etenim adverbiorum cernimus semitas ire cum verbis sive per verba, nec potest ulla qualitas nisi verbo subsequente sonare. Loci namque si fuerit adverbium, velut *illic, istic, hoc, huc, illoc, illuc, istoc, istuc,* per se nihil faciet nec ullam poterit significationis expedire caliginem, nisi cum verbo velut quaedam in tenebris lux clarior et facies antevertat. Itaque *illic sto, illic ero, illic abeo, illic*ve *luctabor*; verborum accessu fit adverbium multi luminis ac potestatis. Temporis non minus fiet adverbium, *nunc veni, modo fecit, cras abibo.* Sed et numeri par causa rationis est. *Semel* enim *feci* dicimus, *bis dixi, ter ante praeceperam.* Negandi quoque similis inceptio est, *minime dixeram, non putavi*; adfirmandi, ut *quidni putaverim, quippe respondit, utique certavit, nempe dicebam, prorsus extinxit*; demonstrandi, *en abit, ecce venit, currit, adsistit*; hortandi *age propera, macte nitier,*

heia age, rumpe moras (Verg. *A.* 4.569);

optandi, *utinam veniat, velim currat.* Quam voluntatem gaudio proximam esse cum dicimus, ut (Verg. *A.* 1.626)

seque ortum antiqua Teucrorum a stirpe volebat,

votis esse comparem credimus. Itaque nec fidei commissorum voluntas sequius accessit, ut non in ea prae-

---

1 adferre C adferret N **5** vocandi *heus* vel *ohe* respondendive <*heu*> *ego* vocandi. hes. u. ohe respondendive N vocandi veloce C vocandi respondendive *heus* vel *ohe* *K Ba.* **6** adiunxerit C adiunxit N *Ba.* **11** significationis expedire (aperire *TLL*) caliginem nisi coniunctum verbo *K Ba.* significantis (*sic etiam* C) adhibere caliginem nisi causa cum verbo N causa *del. Wint. sive* tantum *mavult* **13** faces *TLL* **14** *illic*ve *luctabor ego* illic reluctabor *Fab.* illicve reluctabor *K Ba.* **20** ut *del.* C **27** gaudio N dubio *Lachm. K Ba.* **30** ut non *Lind.* ut nos *Lachm. K* ut h-(*i.e.* haec) N *Ba.* aequius *ed. pr.* praeter N parere *Lachm. K*

248.1 And why am I greatly apprehensive for the strength of pure interjections, when there is the case of what in everyone's opinion are thought to be adverbs? A more refined theory has been unwilling to say that they belong to this part of speech but has set aside these words for the meanings of the interjection. For who did not rather construe (the adverbs) of addressing *ho*! or *hark*! or those of responding *ho there!* with nouns? With verbs it was impossible to do so, although one might prefer this. For we observe that all paths of adverbs go in company with verbs or by verbs, and without a verb following no meaning can sound.

248.9 Let us suppose that there is an adverb of place, for instance *there, yonder, hither, to this place, thither, to that place,* and *thereto.* Taken by itself it will achieve nothing and will be unable at all to dissipate the mist in front of the meaning, unless it is coupled with a verb as if in the darkness some clear light is held in front of faces. As a result, *I stand there; I'll be there; I depart from there; I shall wrestle there.* By the accession of the verbs an adverb having much light and meaning comes about. An adverb of time will come about as well, *Come now! He did it just now; I shall leave tomorrow.* A reason for a similar way of arguing exists in the case of numeral adverbs, for we say *I did it once, I said so twice, I had taught thrice.* There is also a like procedure for adverbs of negation, *I had said so by no means; I did not think so;* for those of affirming, e.g. *I had thought so. Why not? Certainly, he answered; In any case, he fought; Indeed, I said so; Truly, he killed him*; for those of showing, *Behold, he goes away; Look, he is coming, is running, (now) he is standing there*; of exhortation, *Come on, make haste!; Go on, press forward (??),* and *Up ho! break off delay!* of wishing, *If only he comes; Would he runs.*

248.26 When we say that this wish is very close to joy, as in *He would have it that he was sprung from the Teucrian's ancient stock,* we believe that it is equal to desire. Thus and not otherwise the intention of *fideicommissa* (a special kind of last will) was added (to their interpretation), so that in those cases we did not (any longer) rely on the efforts and agency of the wills only with neglect of the (testator's) wish, although this was implicit and not written down.

249 ter iudicium, quamvis tacitum nec adscriptum, votorum solis nisibus et beneficiis crederemus. Ordinis item produntur adverbia, ut *dein dixit, denique subsecuta ratio est.* Non minus expeditur qualitatis, *strenue versatus, fortiter resistit, insigniter subremansit*; interrogandi, *cur reliquisti?*, (Verg. *A.* 5.13)

quianam tanti cinxerunt aethera nimbi?;

comparandi quoque, *ita est ut dicimus* et (Verg. *A.* 10.875)

sic pater ille deum faciat, sic sanctus Apollo,

et (Ter. *Ad.* 739)

quasi cum ludas tesseris,

tamquam currat; praeferendi, *magis potest, potius [est] credere*; dubitandi, *num, fortasse, an, aut fecit aut facturus erit*; adnuendi, *scilicet, plane, vero, vero dicit, licet facias*; causalia, *ideoque feci, idcirco dixi*; personalia etiam: vis enim <horum> adverbiorum per eandem viam tenoremque rationis incedit, *mecum it, tecum est, secum duxit, vobiscum putavi, nobiscum fuit*; vocandi respondendive,—qui videri potest similis incessus vel ordo sermonis, *heus curro, heu veniebant?* Absurdum utique nec socium isti πανδέκτῃ dignumque quod interiectionis propria vis et potestas adgnoscat (*FDS* # 582).

Sed collatio, quam comparationem Umbrius Primus [ita] nominat, defensionis aliquid possit adferre, quantitatis vix posse fatearis, quando propemodum solis qualitatis adverbiis nec aliis obsecundet. *Iustus* etenim facit *iuste*, dein *iustius*; superlatio *iustissime* factum esse profitebitur. Item *docte, doctius, doctissime*, ut tam<en> [ea] <quaedam alia> quae qualitatis aut quantitatis habentur adverbia collatione priventur. Quorum ratio cum in *e*

---

2 beneficiis N indiciis *Lachm. K* **5** insigniter remansit C segniter subremansit N **8** *ita est ut dicimus* et *ego* ita est: ut dicimus et (etenim *K*) *Ba.* **12–13** laudas testaris tamquam curratus? C **14** est *del. Wint.* an <aut>, *aut facit sive* an, aut *fecit Christ proposuit* **16–17** causalia . . . personalia *ego* causalis . . . personalis N *edd.* **17** <horum> adverbiorum *sive* <horum> [adverbiorum] *Wint.* **20–21** -qui *ego vocandi* <vero> *Wint.* qui . . . *veniebant? Christ,* qui . . . *veniebant K Ba.* absonum *Cauch.* **24** quam C quamq. N <quamquam> collatio quam *Kleyw.* [ita] *del.* C **28** superlativo *Fab. K Ba.* **29–30** *doctissime,* ut tam<en> [ea] quae<dam alia quae> *Wint.* doctissime * ut tam ea quae *lacunam indicavit K, quem Ba. secutus est* aut N quam quae *K* quam *Fab.* **31** ratio N si actio *Cauch.*

249.2 Likewise are produced adverbs of order, such as *Next he said; Finally the account followed.* Not less an adverb of quality is brought forward, *He moved about briskly, resisted vigorously, remained behind conspicuously*; adverbs of questioning, *Why did you leave it behind? Why have such clouds girt the heaven?* Also of comparison, *It is thus as we say*, and *So may the great father of the gods grant it, so the divine Apollo!* and *Just as when you play dice*, and *Just as if he is running;* of preference, *He is more able; It is preferable to believe*; of doubt, *Is it? Perhaps*, (question word); *Either he did so or he will do so*; of assent, *evidently, exactly, in truth; In truth, he says so; Although you do so*; of cause, *Therefore I did so; For that reason I said so*; of persons also: for the force of (these) adverbs proceeds along the same way and course of analogy, *He goes with me; He is with you; He brought with himself; With you he thought; He was with us;* of address and answer,—how can there be seen a similar process and sequence in *Hark! I am running; Lo! they were arriving*? It (sc. *heus/heu*) is at any rate discordant, is not the associate of the *pandectes* and deserves to be acknowledged (as its child) by the special force and power of interjection.

249.24 But gradation, which Umbrius Primus calls comparison, might be able to bring some defence. You have, however, to confess that those (adverbs) of quantity hardly can do so, since gradation follows (is an accident of) almost exclusively adverbs of quality and no other adverbs. For *iustus* (*right*) makes *iuste*, then *iustius*; the process of making a superlative will openly declare that *iustissime* has been created. Likewise *docte (skilfully), doctius, doctissime*, so that, however, what further are thought to be adverbs of quality and quantity are deprived of gradation. Although in those cases analogy arranges an ending in the letter *–e*, such as *rare (sparsely), rarius, rarissime* and

250 litteram dirigatur, ut *rare, rarius, rarissime* et *manifeste, manifestius, manifestissime*, Cicero tamen ad Atticum libro VIII (1.2) *ubi tutissimo*, inquit, *essent.* Ferendum etenim est illud ad eundem Atticum (16.3.1) rhetoris *tu convivis tuis arcano legis*, immo vero cum ratione prolatum. Etenim hoc non capit collationis officia, ut *arcane, arcanius, arcanissime*que dicamus aut *false, falsius, falsissime*, sed ut *sedulo*, [nec] *consulto* vel *tuto.* Haec enim duo possunt ordines ducere et per augmenta venire sublimius. Itaque *clanculo*, non item dicere *raro* sed *rare*, dumtaxat cum ratione, poterimus. Viderit etenim Helenius Acro commentariis, quos *Adelphis* Terenti non indiligentes attulit, quid altioris causae reive perspexerit. Nam ita disserit: *Ut falso*, inquit, *et consulto, ita sedulo dictitatum, nisi forte* < *hic nomen est sine dolo* >. *Sine dolo* putat esse *sedulo* nec *cum industria*, vel ideo {*cum industria*} cum sit utique diversum. Nec enim convenit ei cui puerorum ineunte vita salus credita est retexenti curam sollicitudinemve quam ceperat (Ter. *Ad.* 962)

ego vos usque a pueris curavi ambos sedulo,

quasi ei de satisfactione criminis dolique certandum esset ac non prae se ferendum de ostentatione meritorum.

Sed quidam non ea contenti ratione consortii iure putant *e* et *o* inter se litteras expedire: quod ego vix adducor ut credam. Non quia negem *Voturios* pro *Veturios* et *vorsus* et *olli* et contra dictum esse reperiri. In mediis haec est verborum partibus lepidi pictura sermonis. Ubi vero finis *e* littera terminatur, aiunt quia succedens ei *o* vel ei contra *e* littera modo vincit modo vincitur modo alternat modo par est. Vincit cum

---

3 libro VIII *K* libro VII N **8** [nec] *del.* C **12** in commentariis C in Adelphis C **13** quid altioris *ed. pr.* qui altioris N quia laboris C **15–16** . . . *nisi forte <hic nomen est sine dolo>. Sine dolo* putat *ego coll. Rom.-Char. 283.11.* **16** vel ideo cum industria *dell.* C *Ba.* **18** ineuntis vitae C **26** et olli *del. Wint.* **27** in Medis C partibus *K* activus N actibus C **29** vel ei ei *dell.* C *Ba.* littera . . . vincitur *suppl. ex C Ba. coll. Rom.-Char. 259.22–3* littera o. . . . mo N

manifeste (openly), manifestius, manifestissime, Cicero still says in book 8 of his *Letters to Atticus Where they would be safest (tutissimo).* For one should tolerate that phrase of the orator in a letter to the same man: *Read it privately (arcano) to your guests.* Indeed, it has been brought forth by analogy, for this adverb does not accept the offices of gradation that we can say **arcane, *arcanius, *arcanissime* or **false, *falsius, *falsissime,* but it goes like *sedulo (diligently), consulto (deliberately), tuto (safely).* For these words can form two rows and climb higher by means of augmentation. For this reason we shall say *clanculo (secretly),* not likewise **raro,* but *rare (sparsely),* in so far as we will be able to say it in agreement with analogy.

250.11 For let Helenius Acro see to it what of a more elevated reason or thing he perceived in the not sloppy commentary he wrote on Terentius' *Adelphi.* For he argues thus: "*Sedulo* is used here like *falso* and *consulto,* unless <here it is a noun meaning *sine dolo*> (without deceit)." He thinks that *sedulo* is *sine dolo* and not *cum industria* (*diligently*). Or rather ?*cum industria*? therefore because it is at any rate different. For it (the sense of *sedulo* = *sine dolo*) does not suit someone in whose care the welfare of boys on the threshold of life has been commended and who narrates the care and responsibility he had taken: *I have without deceit taken care of both of you from boyhood onwards.* That makes it look as if he had to contend at law about amends for the offence of fraud, and does not have to make a show of his merits.

250.23 However, some people are not content with this theory (given above) and believe that by right of their partnership the letters *e* and *o* supply one another, an opinion I can hardly be brought to believe in. This is not so because I deny that *Voturii* is found to have been said instead of *Veturii,* and *vorsus* and olli and vice versa. In the middle parts of words this is an impression of elegant speech. But when the end finishes in the letter *–e,* they make the rule that its alternative *–o,* or conversely its alternative *–e,* now overcomes, now is overcome, now alternates, now is equal. It overcomes when

251

dicimus *liquido* vel *raro*, non *liquide* <vel *rare*>, et *vero* non *vere*; et cum *cotidiano* nec *cotidiane* disserimus; vincitur cum *rarissime* dicimus, non *rarissimo*; alternat cum possumus dicere *digno te* et *indigno te fecisti*, et cum *digne* et *indigne*; par est, ut in multis generibus istius modi dictionis, *commodo commode*que, ut Plautus in *Frivolaria* (*v.* 78 Goetz.) *commodo dictitemus*, *commode* Titinius (*v. 63 CRF*).

Non quia negem ultra Aufinum interque Vestinos sed et Teatinis et Marrucinis esse moris *e* litteram relegare, *o* videlicet pro eadem littera claudentibus dictionem. Itaque veteres nec haec seu facultas sive ratio seu quidquid est elegantiarum potuit evadere. Denique Q. Caepio in M. Aemilium Scaurum lege Varia (*ORF*^{2} p. 322) *cum ab isto viderem*, inquit, *cotidio* <*consiliis*> *hosteis adiutari*. Quae quidem ego reprehendenda non iudico, siqua ratio fortasse non firma nec in legibus suis durans interdumve succumbit alienis elegantiarum remediis adquiescens fidemque proclamat, auctoritatis videlicet nec adeo sanctionis, alienis viribus manus tradens. Nam et cum dialecticae statum non eadem via nec substantiam terminarint [et cetera quae Graece sequuntur] aliqui, ut ὁ Ἀκύλας περὶ κατηγοριῶν δέκα Ἀριστοτέλους· διαλεκτική ἐστι μέθοδος καὶ ἐπιστήμη τῶν σημαι-

---

1 vel raro *K* iurare N C <vel rare> *suppl. Ba.* **2** et cum . . . disserimus *in N post* **4** te fecisti *positum huc revocavit Ba.* **4–5** et cum digne et indigne *post 3* rarissimo *collocatum in* N *huc transposuit Ba.* cum digne] condigne N fecisti * et *lacunam indicavit K* **5–7** *commodo commode*que, ut Plautus in *Frivolaria commodo dictitemus, commode Titinius.* Non quia *ego coll. Rom.-Char. 255.10–1* commodo. Quae ut Plautus in fibrolaria Commode fecit. Ennius non quod C *commodo commode* que, ut Plautus in Frivolaria *commodo dictitemus.* Non quia *K, Ba.* **8** Aufinum *Mommsen ego* Safinum N Sassinum *vel* Sassinam *Ritschl* Sassinum *K Ba.* **8–9** interque . . . et Teatinis *con. K* inter question. osteatinis (ostiatinis C) ut N **9** Marrucinis C Marucinis N **11** sive ratio *Cauch. K* sive natio N sive venatio al. seu penatio C **14** cotidio <consiliis> *ego coll. Rom.-Char. 255.8–9* cotidio C cotidie N **15** adiutari C adiuvari *K coll. Rom.-Char. 255.9, ubi* C adiutari adiurari N **19** alienae C **21** [et cetera quae Graece sequuntur] *del.* C *et posuit pro deletis* aliquid (*con.* aliqui ut *Cauch.*) *et quae sequuntur Graeca* **20–1** nec substantiam *ego* nec substantia N, *edd.* **23–252.1** φωνῶν transposui σημαινομένων φωνῶν C *K* (p. 609) *Ba.*

we say *liquido (clearly)* or *raro (sparsely)*, and not **liquide* or **rare*, and *vero (truly)*, not **vere*; and when we use *cotidiano (daily)* and not **cotidiane*; it is overcome, when we say *rarissime (very sparsely)*, not **rarissimo*; it alternates, when we can say: *You did so in a way (not) worthy of you (digno te* and *indigno te fecisti)*, and *in a (not) worthy way (digne* and *indigne)*; it is equal, as (is the case) in many instances of this kind of expression, *commodo* and *commode*, such as Plautus in his *Frivolaria: Let us declare properly*: (*commodo dictitemus*), and Titinius: *duly (commode)*.

251.8 Not that I deny that beyond Aufinum and among the Vestini, but also for the Testini and the Marrucini it is usual to dismiss the letter *-e* and to end a word with *-o* instead of this letter.

251.11 Therefore, not even this opportunity or analogy or some other elegance could elude the old writers either. For instance, in his charge against M. Scaurus on the basis of the *Lex Varia* Q. Caepio says: *When I saw that the enemy was daily (cotidio) helped by him with advice.* Certainly, I do not think that such expressions should be censured, if somehow analogy, perhaps not steadfast and upholding its own laws, sometimes yields to the enticements of a strange elegance, thereby giving its assent. It proclaims its allegiance and surrenders itself to strange powers, namely those of authority (of the old writers), not as much their sanctions.

251.20 Now, people did not define the position of dialectics in the same way, nor yet its essence; some like Aquila in his *On the Ten Categories of Aristotle* thus: 'Dialectics is the method and science of sounds having meaning and what is meant'; Others: 'the method which in accordance with nature leads to nature, rather. [*what follows*

252

νουσῶν φωνῶν καὶ τῶν σημαινομένων, οἱ δέ τινες, ἡ κατὰ φύσιν ὁδὸς ἐπὶ τὴν φύσιν φέρουσα πρότερον, <. . . .>, multo magis ego, cui danda quidem est, sed tamen cautior inpunitas disserendi, differentia morabor ingenia loquellarum. Quod adeo iudico moderatius exsequendum, ut exemplis idoneis bonorum sit nobis ratio subrogata. Denique Sisenna *Milesiarum* libro XIII, velut sciens regulae, quia solis qualitatibus [et quantitatibus] *o* littera clauderetur, ita protulit (fr. 1 *HRR*^{2}): *nisi comminus excidisset, quanti dantur? Tanti, inquit Olumpias; simul hoc dicens suavium dedit,* ut scilicet subsonaret *quanti preti.* Tametsi mox idem (fr. 2 *HRR*^{2}): *proin dato aliquid quod domi habebis,* inquit, *quod tibi non magno stabit.* Et tamen passim *magni te facit* dicimus et *multi.*

Et quia saepenumero contendere a nobis non desinitis, licet Statilius Maximus *De singularibus apud Ciceronem quoque positis* (Zetzel # 1) *saepenumero* notet, ut in ceteris, an ratio teneat examen, per easdem vias pedetemptim subire conabimur, quidve sit cum officiis rectae constitutaeque rationis quidve licentius proditum, requiremus. Et prius illud *praeverbium* an *adverbium* dici debeat disputemus. Suetonius etenim Tranquillus (fr. 206 *R.*) *praeverbium* putat dici debere quod ante, vel *adverbium,* quod post verbum, appellationem etiam nomenque ponatur. * Sed ut facilitas legentibus adsit non requisita, placeat non per sapores specimenque partis istius et enumerata membra regulis alligata sed ire per litteras maxime, cum adverbium Stoici, ut alias diximus (p. 247.13), πανδέκτην vocent (*FDS* # 581). Nam omnia in se capit quasi collata per saturam concessa sibi rerum varia potestate.

---

2 *Post Aquilae fragmentum in schedula interposita adscriptum in margine inferiore eius schedulae leguntur etiam haec* ΜΑΣ ΕΙΝ ΤΥ ΤΑ ΥΠΟ ΤΩΝ ΝΕΩΝ ΤΟΥ ΛΟΓΟΥ ΙΑΝΑΟΥΜΕΝΑ, *h.e. ut K vidit,* τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν νεύρων τοῦ λόγου διανοούμενα *Ba.* **3** cautior C cautio N disserendi N deserendi C differendi *edd.* morabor N ornabo C **5** adeo iudico *edd.* adeo iudicio N habet iudicium C adeo iudicium Cauch. **6** idoneis *Kroll* idem istud N **8** [et quantitatibus] *om.* C **9** nisi comminus excipis. set quanti *con. K* **14** magno statuit. Attamen C **15** multi, et quia *K Ba.* **18** examen N examinemus Kroll **20** officio C **21** requiremus *Zetzel* conquiremus C requiramus N **24** *pro* vel *con.* aliis *Christ* **25** *lacunam indicavit Wint.* **28–31** cum adverbium . . . varia potestate *ante* Sed ut *transpos. Christ* **30** *ad* omnia in se capit N *habet in marg. adscriptum* pandectes est concessaque *Cauch.* **31** varia rerum C

is untranslatable]'. For this reason I must be allowed much more freedom of speaking, although with more caution, when I will dwell on the different meanings of words. This investigation should be executed with the more moderation in order that we replace analogy by the right examples from suitable authors. For instance, in book 13 of his *Milesian Tales* Sisenna seemed to be aware of the rule that only in adverbs of quality word-ending occurs by means of the letter *-o*. Therefore, he produced: *If it has fallen nearby* (?) *at what are they given? At that, Olympias said, at the same time giving him a kiss*, of course, in order that *(at what) price* would be understood. Yet not much later the same man says: *Therefore give something you have at home, that will not cost you a lot (magno).* And yet without difference in meaning we say *He values you highly (magni)* and *much (multi).*

252.15 Because you never stop to ask us oftentimes (*saepenumero*),— you contend me this usage, although in his book *On unique words also used by Cicero* Statilius Maximus notes his use of *saepenumero*—, for a discussion whether, as in other cases, analogy is preserved here too, we shall try to proceed along the same way gradually, and shall investigate what has been put forward in agreement with the duties of the correct and established theory of analogy and what with less restraints.

252.21 And let us first discuss whether this word (*saepenumero*) should be called *preverb* or *adverb*. For Suetonius Tranquillus (fr. 206 R.) is of opinion that one should call *preverb* what is put before the verb, and *adverb* what is put after the verb, or even after an adjective noun [*This discussion is missing*].

252.25 But in order that ease of reading be available without being asked for, we may go not through the distinctive qualities and species of this part of speech or through an enumeration of the subjects connected with the rules thereof, but first of all along the initial letters. (I shall do so), because the Stoics, as we have said elsewhere (p. 247.13) call the adverb *pandectes*, 'all-receiver'. For it receives all things, as if they are collected without distinction, because it has been granted power over all sorts of things.

PHILOLOGICAL COMMENTARY*

C. *Iulius Romanus, Introduction (246.18–252.31 Ba.).*

246.18 *C. Iulius Romanus*: C. (Cauchius, in MS N G.) as the abbreviation of *Gaius* is mentioned by Quintilian (1.7.28) and many grammarians (*TLL s.v.*, 15 ff.). In connection with the name Iulius Romanus Barwick prints G. here and in 311.14, too, but C. in 296.14 and 332.21; cp. also 262.18, 278.21 and 287.25. The full name occurs 150.3. Because of Cauchius I prefer C.

246.18–9 *de adverbio . . . ἀφορμῶν*: For a complete list of titles of parts of Romanus' work, see Ch. II.b. The title here is very similar to Romanus' own reference (271.22) <*librum*> *de consortio praepositionum, quem adaeque sub titulo ἀφορμῶν dedimus.*

246.20 *adiecta verbo*: In view of 246.21–3 and 248.9 *verbo subsequente* here *adiecta* must refer to the position of an adverb before a verb. See the discussion in 252.21–5 and cf. Char. 233.2 *adverbium est pars orationis quae praeposita verbo e.q.s.* See also Ch. III.c.

246.20 *explanat atque implet*: This pair is standard in definitions of the adverb (Jeep 1893, 268 and Swiggers-Wouters 2002, 294–6). It runs the danger of suggesting that without an adverb the meaning of a verb is not yet clear and complete. Thus, explicitly, Palaemon-Char. 241.22–4 *nam cum dico 'Palaemon docet', nondum significo satis vim plenam verbi, nisi adiecero 'bene' aut 'male'.* Sch. Dion Thr. 582.27–30 argues in the same way concerning the phrase ἐξηγήσατο Πλάτων σαφῶς. The scholiast misunderstood the last clause in Greek definitions such as that by Apollonius Dyscolus (*Adv.* 119.5–6): λέξις ἄκλιτος κατηγοροῦσα τῶν ἐν τοῖς ῥήμασιν ἐγκλίσεων καθόλου ἢ μερικῶς, ὧν ἄνευ οὐ κατακλείσει διάνοιαν ("An adverb is an indeclinable part of speech saying something about the verbs, in all their forms or parts of them, without which (verbs) it cannot make the sense complete", tr. Sluiter

---

* Throughout this commentary page numbers refer to parts taken by Charisius from Romanus' work; when preceded by Char. they mean non-Romanus parts. 'See Ch. II.b' is a reference to the corresponding section in chapter II of this book. The wording of the lemmata follows my own text.

1990, 73). He seems to have thought that ῥήματα, rather than λέξις, governs κατακλείσει (see Pinkster 1972, 38 n. 6 and Sluiter 1990, II.2). Here, Romanus has the traditional definition, but his explanation does not explicitly deal with the question whether an adverb needs a verb or *vice versa*, although *adiecta verbo* hints at the first alternative. At 248.7 ff. he explicitly takes this view, but at the same time suggests that the adverb renders the sense of the following verb clearer. See comm. *a.l.*

246.21 *enim*: Romanus gives an example of the combination verb + adverb. For *enim* introducing an example ('for instance') see *TLL* 584.31 ff. and 66 ff. In using the particle *enim* he shares this information with his (imagined) audience. This feature of sharing information is part of the larger function of *enim* to make an "appeal to the involvement and cooperation of the addressee" (Kroon 1995, § 8.3).

246.23–4 *Eadem . . . constitutio: partibus* (sc. *orationis*) is Putschen's (1605) correct reading; the plural *adverbiis* will have caused the plural form, which, of course, does not point to other classes than verbs. Winterbottom's insertion of <*isdem*> after *partibus* or *adverbiis* helps a lot; the second alternative is preferable, because then the omission is easier to explain. Romanus could have said *cum verbis*, of course, but now he achieves *variatio*.

246.24 *constitutio*: σύνταξις, 'placing' (*OLD* *s.v.* 1). In Lindemann's (1840) emendation (*eadem est in Graecis* <*artibus*> *adverbii constitutio*), which is unnecessary, the word means 'definition' (*OLD* *s.v.* 6).

246.24–5 ἐπίρρημα . . . ἔχον: This Greek definition ('an adverb is an undeclinable part of speech, which has its reference to its verb') is unique, and does not come close to that in Priscian III 60,2, *pace* Jeep 1893, 268. For a discussion of definitions of the adverb, see Sluiter 1990, 72 ff. Τὴν ἀναφορὰν ἔχον (ἐπί) need not imply a backwards reference, see *LSJ* *s.v.* ἀναφορά, and e.g. Marcus Aurelius 9.23.

246.25 *igitur*: For the use of *igitur* as a particle of transition "signaling the introduction of a new central step in the unfolding discourse" see Kroon 1995, 101 and *TLL* *s.v.* *ergo* 760 f.

246.25–6 σχετλιασμοῦ δηλωτικά: Words expressing anger are meant. In contrast to Greek practice, Roman grammarians classified these words as a separate part of speech, the interjection. See Ch. III.c.

246.26 *dixerint*: In view of 252.19–21 and esp. 276.11 (*quod an possit . . ., vix specto*), Keil's correction *dixerint* of N *dxnt* (= *dixerunt*) is necessary.

246.26 *parum specto*: Like other authors Romanus often uses a 'Bescheidenheits-topos', e.g. 118.27; 122.24; 193.17; 197.8 and 214.12. The use of *specto* with an indirect question is found in Plautus, but does not occur again before Apuleius (*OLD s.v.* 1a).

246.27 *Quam partem orationis*: Because he regards interjections as an independent word-class, Romanus formulates accordingly, whereas e.g. *quae* (sc. σχ. δηλ.) *ut partem orationis* would have been better logic.

246.27 *nostri* 'our grammarians'. The same opposition to Greek grammarians at 247.18 ff.

246.27–247.1 *non ut... supplerent*: This nice innuendo is found nowhere else, but may have been triggered by remarks such as Quint. 1.4.19 *noster sermo articulos non desiderat* [. . .], *sed accedit superioribus* (*sc. partibus*) *interiectio*. In Roman theory the number of eight word-classes is almost sacrosanct, at least from the first century A.D. onwards (Quint. *l.l.*). Here Romanus' attitude towards the Greek language and its grammarians is one of self-confidence, later on (248.20–6) he allows for possible influence from them. One may compare this attitude to that of Terentianus Maurus, who (*De syllabis* 342–53, *GL* VI.336) praises the Greeks for their theory and richness of letters in their language, with which the Romans are not able to compete.

247.1 *articulo, id est* τῷ ἄρθρῳ: In the context of the discussion *articulus* needs no explanation; therefore, the explanatory addition has an embellishing function only: it makes the reader aware of the fact that the Latin word for 'article' has no article, but the Greek word has.

247.3 *Non quia nesciam*: Cf. 250.25 and 251.17 *non quia negem*. For the *anticipatio* of a possible counter argument in the form of a *concessio* cf. Lausberg 1960, §§ 855 and 856. The subjunctive is usual in this locution (*OLD s.v. quia* 3b).

247.3–9 For this theory of *consortium* of word-classes (συνέμπτωσις, Ap.D. *Adv.* 196.17), see Ch. III.c. Romanus is the only Roman artigrapher to use a substantive to indicate this phenomenon (cf. *TLL s.v.* 489.16), the others preferring the periphrastic *communia esse*. This may be explained by the fact that the substantive *communio* was already in use to indicate that a word accepts three genders, e.g. *hic haec hoc simplex* (*TLL s.v. communio* 1966.66 ff.).

247.4 *velut*: 'for instance', cf. 248.10 (*OLD s.v.* 1).

247.5 *consortiis*: '*societas, coniunctio*', *TLL s.v.* 489.13 ff. Winterbottom prefers to write *nominum iuncta consortiis* because of the plurals *consortiis, coniunctionum* and *praepositionibus* in ll. 5, 6 and 8. But with *nominis*

in line 4 and *verbo* in line 6 Romanus starts with two singulars, followed by two plurals thereafter.

247.5–6 *ut gratis . . . domo venit*: These examples are given by other grammarians, too. See Ch. III.c.

247.6 *nec minus verbo*: sc. *communia sunt* (247.4).

247.6 *occulto*: N's example *subito* looks suspect after *subito* in line 5. Diomedes I 405.28 also gives *subito* as an illustration of partnership between adverb and noun. *Occulto* may well be Cauchius' own correction of *subito* and not a reading found in his MS, but it seems right. Keil's *consulto* derives from Priscian III 68.26 where, however, it is connected with derivations of an adverb from nouns. Diomedes *l.l.* mentions *age* and *pone*. Eiher *occulto* or *subito* will do. In defense of *subito* one might argue: *subito* can be interpreted as the ablative or dative of *subitus*, the participle of the passive perfect of *subeo*, although this form seems to be used as an adjective noun only. Another possibility is that Romanus neglects the length of the vowel and speaks about *subito* with a long *i* as an imperative and the adverb *subito* with a short *i* as being partners. A parallel of the latter process is found in Cledonius, *GL* V.26.20–2: *heu quando interiectio est dolentis, quando adverbium respondendi, hinc intellegimus: producta interiectio est, correpta adverbium respondendi* (see Sluiter 1990, 217–8 on the problems connected with this text). On the whole, however, *occulto* gives less difficulties.

247.6–7 *coniunctionum . . . strictiora*: Paraphrasis (here for *coniunctionibus communia*) often occurs in this introduction, e.g. 248.4 *interiectionis sensibus*. Note also the *variatio* in this series; similarly in 248.9–249.20. *coniunctionum . . . strictiora*: 'Closely tied up with conjunctions'. The comparative form should not be taken to imply that conjunctions have more in common with adverbs than other word-classes do.

247.7 *inquit Umbrius*: Romanus mentions Umbrius Primus twice more, 247.9 and 249.24. He is not known from elsewhere. See Froehde 1892a, 648–9; *RE* xxii.2 (1954), 1995–6, and Schmidt § 437, who suggests that Umbrius Primus was not only Romanus' contemporary but even a partner in discussions on grammatical subjects. This may be the case, but proof is lacking.

247.7 *cum dicimus*: In this expression, and similar ones (cf. 251,1–4), Romanus puts the indicative after *cum*.

247.9–18 *Et Umbrius e.q.s.*: See Ch. III.c for the argument. Here, and 246.23–6, Romanus first approves of a particular view (*cum velut extrema linea etc.*) in order to attack it immediately afterwards (*quorum siquis etc.*).

247.9 *et . . . tamen*: 252.14 *et tamen*. For both positions of *tamen* see *TLL s.v. et* 904.24 and 910,19.
247.10 *extrema linea duci*: The meaning of this expression here is not clear. *Extremas* (or *primas*) *lineas ducere* is used for 'drawing an outline' of a picture, metaphorically as well as literally (*TLL s.v.* 1433, 42 ff.). This sense is close to that of 'marking a boundary' (*ibid.* 1427.27 ff.).
247.10–11 *velut . . . vel ab his*: The function of the words *postremo vel* ('ultimately even') in the argument seems to be to stress *extrema linea duci . . . posset.*
247.12 *adverbii esse*: 'to be part of the class of adverbs'. Cf. 247.3–4; 251,9; 151.1; 150.3 etc. See also on 251.9.
247.12–3 *quorum . . . tutamen: Quoniam* (C) is impossible here. *Quorum* may go with either *siquis* or *defensionis*. In the latter case, *ineat tramitem* (Keil, because of *tamen* in N) is preferable: 'If someone enters upon the path of their defence'. Romanus uses *tramitem sternere* 150.6. *Inire tutamen* (C), 'to enter into the protection of the defence', however, pleads for *quorum siquis*. *Tutamen* is a variant of the MS tradition, and for that reason to be preferred. For *inire tutamen*, cf. *inire gratiam* (*TLL s.v. ineo* 1296.72 ff.). Winterbottom's *siquis* <*id*> or <*id*> *ineat* seems not necessary.
247.13 *idcirco*: The adverb refers back to *eam orationis partem adverbii totam esse* (*ll.* 11–2), whereas 263.13 it points forward (*idcirco . . . quia*).
247.13 *habeatur*: The subjunctive after *quod*, expressing the personal opinion of the subject (*si*)*quis*, cf. *K.-S.* II 2.200.
247.13 πανδέκτης *a Stoicis*: This information is not known from other sources (Clemens § 138.11 (ed. J. Tolkiehn 1928) uses Charisius-Romanus there, see also on 252.29–31). According to Diogenes Laertius 7.57, Antipater of Tarsus was the first to introduce μεσότης as a separate part of speech; by this term is meant the adverb (see Schenkeveld 1984, 343 n. 138). In Greek and Latin grammar the class of adverbs looks, indeed, like a receptacle of words which find no place elsewhere, cf. the statement in e.g. Servius IV 439.22–23 *Omnis pars orationis cum desierit esse quod est, nihil aliud est nisi adverbium*, and the explication of *pandectes* in Clemens *l.l.* quoted in my note on 252.29–31. Hülser (*FDS* #580) prints 247.9–18 with a German translation, which needs correction.
247.14 *summoveri*: 'dislodge, drive off' (*OLD s.v.* 3). Cauchius (see *app. crit.*) introduced changes in the text which have as a consequence, not that the defender of the view opposed by Romanus will notice that he can be dislodged from his stance, but that he will notice

that he will be able to drive off the Stoics from their position. It is more effective to keep to the traditional text: the person who comes to their defence will see that his argument can be used against himself.

247.15 *respiciet*: 'he will notice' (*OLD* *s.v.* 6b).

247.15–6 *unde . . . dicatur*. According to Barwick Cauchius omitted these words, but I fail to see this on my microfilm; see my *Appendix*, p. 138. We must in any case keep these words.

247.15 *unde maxime confidit*: 'from which he gets his greatest confidence'. At 289.10 Romanus explains *unde* by *e quo loco* in Plautus, *Rudens* 370. Cauchius wrote in his copy *maxime confidunt*. The plural form is in line with his reading *illos . . . summovere* in line 14.

247.15–6 *cum . . . dicatur, cur non . . .?*: A more prosaic version might have run thus: 'Although the adverb is rightly called πανδέκτης, it should have taken into partnership with it this word-class of interjection, too'. The second part has been made into a rhetorical question. Winterbottom's *si* is attractive but not necessary.

247.16–8 *cur non alligavit . . . metuit et inludi?*: In view of (*consortium*) *sui*, I take it that *adverbium*, not the defender of the view under attack, is the (personified) subject of this sentence. This *personificatio* seems rather far-fetched, especially for *vocavit*, but see 247.18–23 and 249.28–9. For the use of *sui*, not *suum*, see K.-S. I.598–9.

247.16–7 *eandem quoque interiectionis partem*: Fullness of expression, for either *eam quoque* (thus N), or *eandem* would suffice.

247.17 *vocavitque*: This is Barwick's attempt at understanding this sentence. The copyist of N apparently read *vocavitve*, which may be right, cf. Szantyr II § 271 on *-ve* = *et*, and 251.16–9 and 252.18–21 For *vocavere* (C) see on 247.15 *unde confidit*.

247.17 *secretius*: 'separately'. Cf. Columella 11.2.25. The comparative as in *strictiora* (247.7).

247.18–248.1 *Tamen . . . inpunitas*: For the argument, see Ch. III.c.

247.18–23 *Tamen . . . sunt*: The emancipation of Latin grammatical theory on the subject of interjections is compared to deliverance from servitude (247.21). This process implies taking a new direction of one's own (247.20), but on this expedition one had to be on the alert for possible attacks from the Greeks (247.22). Use of opposite imagery in a similar context is found at 251,16–9.

247.18–22 *ne nostra quidem . . . timeret*: In the sequence *ne/quidem permisit, quin . . . non etiam timeret, non* is superfluous: 'Our theory did not commit itself to its own deliberations without even yet fearing the attacks, which, however, are of no account'. Probably its presence is a case of a slight anacolouthon.

247.19 *temere: non temere*, 'not without consideration'. Romanus explains *temere* by *facile* (285.27), and by *neglegenter* (286.20). The latter sense is appropriate here.
247.19 *deliberationi suae sententiisque: Congeries* (Lausberg 1960, § 655) and *variatio* of number (§ 982) mark Romanus' *abundantia* here. Cf. 247.18 *rideri et inludi*; 248.16 *lux clarior et facies*; 15 *multi luminis ac potestatis*; 249.1; 17; 18; 250,21; 251,20; 252.20.
247.20 *separando viam*: Starting from the sense of 'to divide off' (*OLD s.v.* 1), I come to the interpretation of 'marking off a separate, i.e. different way'. The use of the gerund as a participle is common in post-classical Latin (Szantyr II § 201–2).
247.20 *viam propriae virtutis*: A poetical expression implying that Latin theory had the courage to go its own way.
247.21 *orationem istam: Oratio = pars orationis* in Servius on Verg. *A.* 3.91. That sense is what we expect here, but such a use of *oratio* is very exceptional (*TLL s.v.* 880.41–4). Therefore, we must accept that Romanus is speaking of the liberation of the whole of Latin language. *Istam* after *nostra* (*ratio*) in the sense of *hanc*, cf. *OLD s.v.* 4.
247.21 *vinclis alienae servitutis eximeret: TLL s.v. eximo* 1498.59 ff. quotes Plautus *Capt.* 204 *eximat vinculis*. C reads *vinculis*, but *vinclis* (N) is the older and choicer form.
alienae servitutis: 'servitude to another person', *TLL s.v. alienus* 1569.72 ff.
247.22 *altioris exitus Graeciae*: This is Barwick's reading for Cauchius' *alterioris ex. Gr.*, where *alterioris* is not Latin. I suggest that *exitus* here means 'sally, sudden attack' or, more generally, 'expedition', like the Greek ἔξοδος, though I have not found a convincing parallel in Latin. *Exire*, however, sometimes has the sense of 'marching out, moving out' (*TLL s.v.* 1355.72). The imagery is that of Greek attacks undertaken from elevated places in the terrain. The Greeks are there because they are more cultivated (*altioris*, see on 250.13).
247.23–5 *Itaque . . . aestimaverunt*: The bad condition of the text here allows of different reconstructions. I assume that Romanus is making two points: The Romans rendered the Greek word παρενθήκη literally (cf. Sluiter 1990, 188 ff.), but at the same time they classified pure interjections, such as *vae*, *ah* and *hem*, as expressions of *cachinnus* and *gemitus*. In this way they allowed for the possibility that interjections, when combined with *nomina* could be classified as adverbs (see Ch. III.c). I, therefore, propose to read as follows: *itaque nomen ei <parti> partitum tamen acriter reddiderunt, interiectionem vero, <ut> 'vae' 'ah' 'hem' cachinnum gemitumve dici media pergentes aestimaverunt, ut. . . .* 'Therefore at least they rendered sagaciously the name this (part) had

got (by 'interiectio'), but held that interjections (such as) *vae, ah,* and *hem* were to be called (an expression of) derision and lamentation. They adopted this middle course in order to ensure that etc.' The insertion of *parti* before *partitum* is necessary; otherwise the reference of *ei* is unclear. For *tamen . . . vero,* cf. Caes. *BG* 1.32.5 *propterea quod reliquis tamen fugae facultas daretur, Sequanis vero e.q.s. Aestimaverunt dici*: For *aestimare* = 'to think it right, to order', see *TLL s.v.* 1107.20 ff. and 60 ff. *Existimaverunt* (C) seems not to be used in the sense required here.

247.23 *nomen ei* <*parti*> *partitum*: Romanus means παρενθήκη, which word connotates insertions generally. In the part on the *interiectio* (311.14 ff.) Romanus discusses interjections as well as inserted word-groups (315.3–7); cf. Sluiter 1990, 178 ff.

247.25–248.1 *ut . . . inpunitas*: For the view that words, such as *o,* are interjections if put absolutely, but an adverb when connected with the accusative of a noun, see Probus IV 146.21 ff. (= Audax VII 356.15 ff.). Cf. Priscianus III 89.2 ff.

247.26 *vel*: introduces a mere variation on the same view.

247.26 *ut in multis solet*: Fabricius' emendation (1551) for *ut id multis solet* is necessary, unless we take these words to mean: 'as it (the adverb) is wont to (adduce nominal cases to) many instances', but this seems very harsh.

248.1 *casus adferre*: Cf. *nominibus adiunxit* 248.5. I adopt the reading of Cauchius, which makes *affectus,* not *Graecia,* the subject of the expression.

248.1 *inpunitas*: Cf. 185.12 *quibus exemplis inpunitas . . . datur* and 252.4 *inpunitas disserendi.*

248.1–249.24 *Et quid . . . adgnoscet*: For the line of thought in this passage see Ch. III.c.

248.1 *Et quid . . . pertimesco*: The rhetorical question is introduced by *et,* which suggests a close connection between what follows and the foregoing, whereas, in reality, Romanus switches to another part of the adverbial theory. For *et* as *formula sermonis abrumpendi (fere i.q. 'sed')* see TLL 891.32 ff.).

248.1–2 *meris interiectionis viribus: Merus* = 'pure', cf. 168.6 *Graecorum merum nomen. Meris* is a case of enallage, pure interjections such as *vae* being meant. Cf. *alienis elegantiarum remediis* (251,17) and see Lausberg 1960, § 685.2. The imagery of words possessing physical strength recurs in 251,19. Cf. Char. 62.24 *consuetudo non arte analogiae, sed viribus par est.*

248.3 *ratio subtilior*: 'a more exact theory'. Romanus adheres to the latter view, witness the following rhetorical question. This theory, viz.

that the words under discussion are interjections, is contrasted with that of *omnes*, by which are meant the "adverbialists" as well as those grammarians who distinguish interjections as a separate part of speech but put problematic words such as *heus* and *heu* under adverbs.

248.3–4 *eius partis esse*: See on 251.9.

248.4–5 *interiectionis sensibus reservarit*: 'has set aside (these words) for the senses of the interjection', a roundabout way of saying that these words belong to the class of *interiectio*. *Sensus* = 'meaning' (*OLD s.v.* 9d).

248.5 *Quis enim . . . adiunxerit?*: From Keil's app. crit. it appears that N offers *vocandi. hes. u. ohe. respondendive n. potius*. In his copy of the *editio princeps* Cauchius found *vocandi habet vim, ohe respondendi non potius*; he underlined *habet vim, ohe respondendi* and wrote in the margin *Al. veloce respondendive. Veloce* of C may contain *vel ohe*, which comes close to the reading in N. Keil's transposition of *respondendive* is attractive because of 249.20 f. but not really necessary. In both cases *adverbium* is to be supplied in thought. *Ohe* is an unusual example of an *adverbium respondendi* and may be replaced by *heu* (cf. 249.21), the common instance (e.g. Char. 233.14; 234.13; 244.23). Cauchius also changed in his text *adiunxit* and *potuit* into *adiunxerit* and *potuerit* (not noticed by Barwick). The first change is very welcome, the other one not. So rejecting Keil's transposition I read as follows: *quis enim vocandi heus vel ohe respondendive <heu> non potius nominibus adiunxerit?*

248.5 *vocandi heus vel ohe respondendive <heu>*: The classification of *heus* and *ohe* as words of address (*conpellandi*, Char.-Palaemon 244.23) is right, that of *heu* as an answering particle wrong, but often adopted in ancient Latin grammar. The right interpretation of *heu* (*TLL s.v.* 2671.62) as expressing grief is in Rom. 311.7 etc. The wrong classification may have come about because of the frequent occurrence of *heu* in dialogues in comedy, e.g. Terence, *Hecyra* II 2.29: Laches: *Hem, Sostra!* Sostrata: *Heu me miseram!*

248.6 *non potius nominibus adiunxerit*: The line quoted from Terence in the preceding note may serve as a passage where *heu* is seeminlgy construed with a noun. Cf. also *heus, Trannio. heus vos, pueri* (Plautus, *Most.* IV 2.28 f.). For *adiungere* = 'to construe with' see *TLL s.v.* 710.8 ff. and cf. Priscian III 207.24.

248.7 *Omnes etenim*: Romanus frequently puts *etenim* in second position in a clause: 248.18; 249.27; 250.4 and 11; 252.22. In first position 250.6 only. Cf. *OLD s.v.* 'often second word (element) in poets; also in . . . later prose', and *TLL s.v.* 916.54 ff.

248.7–8 *Omnes . . . per verba*: Here Romanus uses a periphrasis for

the technical term *coire cum*, for which see *TLL s.v. coeo*, 1421.36 ff. *Sive per verba* is another case of *variatio* (see on 247.25).

248.8–9 *nec . . . sonare*: 'but without a verb following no meaning can sound'. Another example of Romanus' forced style, for the combination of *qualitas* with *sonare* is curious. *Sonare*, like *vocare* (162.25), is used elsewhere of the pronunciation of word forms (158.24 *coniuge per e sonabit*; 165.14; Char.-Pliny 167.30 and 183.20), but here of meanings which are voiced. One may compare *subsonare* (252.11) = ὑπακούεσθαι and the use of *subaudire* at 310.14. *Qualitas* must be 'meaning' (as an off-shoot of the sense of 'essential quality', *OLD s.v.* 1), for Romanus now starts a discussion of *significationes adverbii* (see Ch. III.c). For *qualitas* = *significatio* as an accidens of parts of speech, see Jeep 1893, 261. Of course, at 249.5 and 252.8 Romanus uses *qualitas* in *adverbia qualitatis* as a species of *significationes*.

248.9–249.10 *Loci . . . 'nobiscum fuit'*: The long list of *significationes adverbii* may be fruitfully compared with those in Uhlig *Appendix Artis Dionysii Thracis*, Leipzig 1881, 18 ff., Jeep 1893, 279–81 and Swiggers-Wouters 2002, 298–300, from which it appears that Romanus could have made yet more distinctions. In the following comments I note only those items which are conspicuous because of their classification. For the rest of the examples see the literature cited.

From a literary point of view it is worth noticing that almost in the middle of the list Romanus introduces a retarding remark, as if to allow his audience to take a rest. The remark concerns a juridical matter and has no direct link with grammatical theory. In the two parts before and after he starts by introducing new items by means of various expressions (248.15, 17, 19 and 249.2 and 4), but then quickens his pace (248.20, 22, 23, 26 and 249.5, 8, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17). The list of examples may contain more quotations than are indicated by Barwick, e.g. 249.3–4 *denique subsecuta ratio est*, but I have not been able to locate these.

According to Kroll 1931, 263, Romanus tends to give first two examples made up by himself and then a quotation from Vergil. But this is too general a statement.

248.10 *illic . . . istuc*: One misses *hic*, which would fit in before *illic*, thereby making a regular *series hic, illic, istic*, which is then varied by three pairs *hoc huc* etc. But we must accept the irregularity because the examples in ll. 13–5 only concern *illic*, the first adverb mentioned. Romanus mentions *adverbia in loco* and *in locum* only, not those *e loco* and *per locum*, for which see Char. 243.12–22. *Illoc* and *istoc*

are definitely archaic, and do not occur in the usual lists of *adverbia loci* of other grammarians.

248.11–2 *nec ullam . . . expedire caliginem: Expedire*, 'to clear away' is Keil's correction for *adhibere* (N), which gives an impossible sense. The redactor of the lemma *caligo* in *TLL* quotes (160.59) for this passage *aperire caliginem*, but this is apparently his own conjecture. Another possibility is *dissipare caliginem*, cf. Char. 63.19 *controversiarum . . . caliginem dissipent. Significationis caligo* is the mist (darkness) in front of the meaning, which obscures the sense of the following verb. Cf. *caligo . . . futuri* in Juvenal 6.556 (*TLL* 160.52).

248.12–3 *nisi cum . . . antevertat: Nisi causa cum verbo* of N is incomprehensible, and the rest of the phrase also has its difficulties. Christ 1862, 119 proposed *velut quaedam in tenebris lux clariores facies antevertat. Facies*: Winterbottom thinks of *species* because of Pliny-Romanus 151.23. *Nisi cum verbo*: Keil's solution is *nisi coniunctum verbo*. But is this necessary?

The phrase *nisi . . . antevertat* admits at least two interpretations, depending on whether one takes *nisi cum verbo* together ('unless linked with a verb') and the rest *velut . . . antevertat* as one coherent comparison (a) or interprets *cum* as a conjunction governing *antevertat* (b). In the latter case *antevertat . . .* governs the dative *verbo* ('unless when it (the adverb) precedes the verb'), in the first one the verb is construed with an accusative ('as when in the darkness a clearer light precedes also faces'). Both constructions are possible, see *L.-S. s.v.* In interpretation (b) one must take *lux clarior et facies* as one expression, but what is the meaning of *facies* here ('shape?)? One may think of changing *et facies* into *et faciei*: *nisi cum (adverbium) verbo antevertat, velut lux clarior et faciei (antevertat)*; Another possibility is to read *et faces* (thus O. Hey in *TLL s.v. facies* 44.71 f., who lists this passage under *loci obscuriores* and suggests *faces . . . caliginem*); there is no need to read *antevertant*, for *adverbium* (l. 10) is still the subject in this phrase. Because it is more obvious to take *cum verbo* as a unit than to sperate these words, I prefer interpretation (a). To do so has the advantage of not changing the transmitted text and expressing more clearly the imagery: in the darkness the light of a torch illuminates the faces of the people walking behind the torch. The comparison is very apt after Romanus' statement that without a following verb the adverb has no function, but at the same time illuminates, as it were, (cf. 246.20 *significationem eius explanat atque implet*) the meaning of the verb.

248.14 *illic abeo*: Cf. Diomedes I 454.3 *eamus illic pro illuc* and see *TLL s.v. illic* 372.81 ff.

248.14 *illicve luctabor*: Either we must print '*illicve*' '*luctabor*', *-ve* introducing the fourth example, or with Fabricius (1551) read '*illic reluctabor*' (*reluctari* is common in post-classical prose). I have also thought of *illicce* (cf. *TLL s.v.* 371.49 ff.), but this word is not in the list of line 10.
248.16 *non minus*: 'as well', 'equally' (*OLD s.v. minus* 3a).
248.17–20 *par causa rationis . . . similis inceptio: Par causa rationis e.q.s.* means 'a reason for a similar way of arguing exists in the case of numeral adverbs', unless *causa rationis* is the same as either *causa* or *ratio* alone, 'cause, reason'. See *TLL s.v.* 875.23–5 for *inceptio* = 'procedure'.
248.20 *ut*: Although deleted by Cauchius, *ut* may be retained here, cf. 249.3.
248.20 '*quidni putaverim*': Char.-Palaemon 244.11 classifies *quidni* under the "confirmatory" adverbs, too. *Quidni* is always followed by a subjunctive (*OLD s.v.*). Therefore, I print *putaverim*, not *putaveram.*
248.23 '*ecce . . . adsistit*': 'Look, he is coming, he is running, (now) he is standing here, (has arrived)'. Cf. Cic., *TD* 2.21 *accede, nate, adsiste . . . aspice.*
248.24 '*macte nitier*': For this obscure expression see Kroll 1931, 263 f. and *TLL s.v. mactus* 23.53 f.
248.26–249.2 *Quam . . . crederemus*: For the function of this excursus, see on 248.9–249.10. Lindemann (1840) deleted this passage because the phrase *Itaque . . . crederemus* had no connection whatsoever with grammatical theory and had been taken from some juridical text; the first phrase he did not understand either.
248.26–9 *Quam . . . gaudio . . . credimus*: In the Vergilian line modern commentators interpret *volebat* as 'maintained, boasted'; but Romanus connects it with *gaudium.* This link is also present in Servius' commentary (*Comm.* I.626): (*VOLEBAT: propter genus maternum, ut supra diximus.*) *et plus est quod dixit 'volebat', quasi materno gaudens refutaret genus paternum* (tr.: 'of more importance is that Vergil says *volebat,* as if he (Teucer) in his joy of the maternal descent rejected the paternal lineage'). *Materno gaudens (genere)* is understandable only if Servius took *volebat* to be equivalent to *gaudebat.* As Servius' commentary (c. 400) was based also on older commentaries, there is no difficulty to use it here in order to explain a much older text, i.c. that of Romanus (c. 280). At any rate, there is no need to replace *gaudio* (N) by *dubio,* as was done without further comment by K. Lachmann (*Comm. on Lucretius IV 984,* Berlin 1850) and to adopt this correction as both Keil and Barwick did.

The function of this remark about *voluntas* coming very close to

gaudium, prompted by the example of adverb of wishing *velim currat*, is, I think, to show Romanus' knowledge of philological niceties, for what really matters to him is the link between *voluntas* and *votum*. He needs this link for his following remark.

248.24–249.2 *Itaque . . . crederemus*: Having connected *voluntas* with *votum* Romanus continues this idea by discussing their relationship in last wills. In those cases *voluntas* has a specialized sense of 'intention', whereas *votum* (249.1) now means 'wish, last will'. In other words, Romanus tackles one of the well-known issues in Roman law, that of the opposition between the letter (*scripta, verba*) of a last will, or of any law, and the intention (*voluntas, sententia, mens*) of the testator (or legislator). This issue was also raised in schools, when the theory of *status* was being discussed. In this theory we find under *status legales* that of *scriptum et voluntas* (ῥητὸν καὶ διάνοια). See e.g. Cicero, *De invent.* 1.68–9 and Fortunatianus, *Ars rhet.* 1.24 (ed. Calboli Montefusco, Bologna 1979) and her comm. *a.l.* for examples of *controversiae* about fictitious last wills. This issue was also hotly debated in real life, and the close connection between Law and Rhetoric on this issue has been admirably set out by Stroux 1949, 27 ff.

248.29–30 *fidei commissorum*: Whether we write this in two words or in one does not really matter, for it was always felt to be one word (*TLL s.v. fides* 678.61 ff.). A *fideicommissum* (f.c.) is a kind of last will in which the testator requests a person who will benefit by this will, to let a third party have parts of the inheritance. Rules for these wills are less strict than for more formal ones, such as *testamenta*, and, therefore, disputes on the intention may easily arise. A general view on the issue of intention in last wills of any kind was formulated in *Dig.* 35.1.101: *in condicionibus testamentorum voluntatem potius quam verba considerari oportet.* See e.g. R. Feenstra, *Romeins-rechtelijke grondslagen van het Nederlandse Privaatrecht*, Leiden 1980, §§ 427 ff. and M. Kaser, *Das römische Privatrecht*, München 1975, 555 ff. (my colleague, professor E. Schrage, kindly helped me on these points).

248.29–249.2 *Itaque . . . crederemus*: This passages bristles with textual and exegetical problems. I shall discuss these step by step. (a) What is certain is that according to Romanus, the intention of the testator was also taken into account in the interpretation of *fideicommissa*. It is also certain that the combination of *praeter* and *solis* makes for an opposition between *iudicium* and *nisus et beneficia votorum* and prevents us from interpreting *praeter* as 'in addition to'. We may be tempted to link *nisus* ('efforts', 'striving', *OLD s.v.* 2c) with the testator's intention

and, accordingly, take *iudicium* as referring to the *scripta* of a last will. But the apposition to *iudicium, quamvis tacitum nec adscriptum*(!), bars the way. *Iudicium* must, therefore, mean 'wish' and *nisus et beneficia votorum refer* to the letter of the last will, a quite feasible interpretation (see note on 249.2). In view of the general debate on the issue of *voluntas* v. *scripta* in last wills, and because of the foregoing, we are forced to conclude that Romanus sketches the following historical process (the matter of the historical reliability of this information we may safely leave aside): At one moment in the interpretation of *fideicommissa* the aspect of the testator's intention was taken into account as well. This was done in order that [or, so that as a consequence of this measure] we no longer rely only on the letter of the will, but make allowance for the testator's wish also, even when this has not been expressed explicitly.

(b) Granted this interpretation we must add that Barwick's text (*ut haec in ea . . . crederemus*) gives the contrary result, for it says that intention was added in order that we should interpret *fideicommissa* according to the letter of the will only. Then the point of the addition of the intention gets lost. Therefore, we need another text. N shows the way, for the abbreviation of *haec* (h̄) can be interpreted as a mistake for n̄ (*non*) (see Barwick, RP 184 n. 2 for this frequent change). Editors before Keil, such as Lindemann (1840) had already printed *non*,—which Lachmann (see on 248.26–9), and in his wake Keil, had changed into *nos* with the addition of *parere*, but we may ignore this conjecture. By accepting *ut non* we get the additional advantage that *in ea* (l. 30) now admits the interpretation 'in those cases', sc. of *fideicommissa*, see note on l. 30, whereas in Barwick's text we should translate *in ea* by 'in the case of *voluntas*', which is awkward in view of the neglect of intention Barwick's reading involves us in.

(c) *Ut non* can only express a consequence here, and may do so in Latin without foregoing indicators (cf. e.g. Livy *AUC* 5.3.43). Romanus does not express to what *voluntas* was added but from *fideicommissorum voluntas* we can easily supply e.g. *his*.

The logical link with the foregoing sentence is made by means of *itaque nec . . . sequius* (see note a.l.) is: '*Voluntas* is comparable to *votum*. For this reason *voluntas* and *votum* are taken as equivalents in the case of *fideicommissa*'.

248.29–30 *Itaque nec . . . sequius*: Hyperbaton, see on 247.3. At 284.16 Romanus lists *sequius* apparently as meaning *minus*; Char. 101.15–7 explains it by ἀλλοιοτέρως.

248.30 *in ea: In* c. acc. meaning 'in the case of, with reference to', see *TLL s.v.* 758.59 and *OLD s.v.* 17.
249.1 *iudicium . . . tacitum: iudicium* = 'opinion, wish', cf. *Dig.* 5.2.8 *iudicium defuncti, et al.* For *tacitum* in this context, cf. [Quint.], *Declamat. Min.* #325 (*Hereditas fidei commissa*) and see Papinianus, *Dig.* 34.9.18 on *tacitum fideicommissorum.*
249.1–2 *votorum . . . beneficiis: votum* = 'last will', see on 248.24–249.2. *Beneficio legis* is frequently used in juridical texts, 'under law, by the agency of law' (*OLD s.v.*). Therefore, Lachmann's *indiciis* is superfluous. Romanus strengthens the expression by adding *nisibus*, 'efforts'.
249.2–19 *Ordinis. . . .'nobiscum fuit'*: See on 248.9–249.19.
249.3 *produntur.* 'are produced', 'come into existence', *OLD s.v.*
249.3 *dein*: Priscian II.125.3 (cp. 67.13) calls this form an instance of *apocope* of *deinde.*
249.3 *denique . . . est*: This phrase looks like a quotation 'finally the account followed, came in', but I have not found its source.
249.4 *expeditur qualitatis*: sc. *adverbium*, variation of number and of wording (*adverbia* v. (*adverbium*) and *produntur* v. *expeditur*). N gives *expedit*: used intransitively *expedire* occurs in Tacitus only, 'to set off on an expedition' (*TLL s.v.* 1611.46 and see Heubner on *Hist.* 1.10.2). This military connotation is too specific here; therefore I print *expeditur.* An alternative is *se expedit, TTL* 1612.65, cf. Auct. ad Her. 4.11.16.
249.4–5 *'strenue . . . subremansit'*: Cauchius has *insigniter remansit* for N's *segniter subremansit.* In that case the words look like one continuous quotation: 'he moved about briskly, resisted vigorously, remained behind conspicuously'. In this tricolon the final word would be the longest one ('Gesetz der wachsenden Glieder'), and moreover, it gives a good rhythm. Cf. the tricolon in 248.23. *Subremanere* occurs from Tertullian, *De anima* 10,18 onwards, if very rarely.
249.7 *'quianam . . . nimbi'*: Romanus may have chosen this Vergilian line because of the archaic *quianam.* Cf. Festus 257 M. *quianam pro quare et cur positam apud antiquos.*
249.8 *comparandi quoque*: *'ita est ut dicimus' et . . .*: In the text of Barwick *dicimus* introduces two quotations. But elsewhere, e.g. 251.1 and 3 and 250.7, Romanus uses *dicimus* in connection with everyday speech. Change in puctuation will remove this problem. Char. 244.15 lists *ita* as *adverbium similitudinis* (Uhlig 1881, nr. 12).
249.10 *'sanctus Apollo'*: MS p has *magnus*, the reading of most Vergilian MSS.
249.13 *'tamquam currat'*: The first item is better written as one word

(*OLD s.v.*). Other grammarians list *tamquam* under the *coniunctiones comparativae*, Char. 244.17 f. and 291.17 f. (Pliny). I cannot make anything of Cauchius' *quasi cum laudas testaris tanquam curratus?*
249.13–14 *'praeferendi . . . credere'*: Others (e.g. Cominianus, Char. 233.16) call this species *adverbium comparandi.* In contrast with expressions such as *satius est* that of *potius est* seems impossible in Latin; therefore with Winterbottom I read *potius [est] credere.*
249.14 *dubitandi . . . an*: Here, as well as in l.15 *(scilicet, plane, vero)*, first three items are listed without a following predicate, then come examples with a predicate. This case is different from 248.10 ff., where the occurrence of adverbs without a predicate fits the argument there.
249.14–5 *an, 'aut . . . facturus erit'*: Christ 1862, 119 proposes to read either *an, <aut>, 'aut . . . erit'* or *an, aut, 'facit aut facturus erit'.* He offers no argument for the insertion of <*aut*>, but the double occurrence of *vero* in the next line (*. . . plane, vero, 'vero dicit' e.q.s.*) may well have been the cause. However, little regularity is to be found in the whole section, therefore I do not adopt Christ's suggestion.
249.15 *adnuendi*: This species also in the lists of Probus, Victorinus, and Audax (VII 348.20 *adnuentis, ut vero*); examples are *scilicet, plane, vero, sane.* Elsewhere *scilicet* and *plane* are called *adfirmandi adverbia* (Palaemon-Char. 244.10 ff. etc.); cp. Uhlig 1881, nr. 24).
249.16 *'licet facias'*: *Scilicet, plane* and *vero* all three express that the speaker is certain about his statement, but Cominianus stresses their concessive use. *Licet* as an *adverbium concedendi* also in Servius in Verg. *Aen.* 6.400. *Licet* is called a *coniunctio subiunctiva* by Palaemon-Char. 294.16.
249.16 *causalia . . . personalia*: The syntax of the transmitted *causalis* and *personalis* can hardly be that they are anticipatorily governed by *vis* (l. 17). Therefore, I write *causalia* and *personalia.* Cf. Char.-Palaemon 244.20 *personalia* in a list with gerunds and nouns in the genitive, just as here. In Char. 234.12 we find *personative* and the same examples.
249.16–8 *'personalia . . . fuit'*: *Mecum* etc. are commonly classified as adverbs. See Jeep 1893, 279. The series has the structure a b c b a (first, second, third, second, first person), which looks intentional.
249.17–8 *per eandem . . . rationis*: Cf. 184.8 *Tu. quidam hunc nominativum non per eandem aliis viam rationemve duxerunt; per varias vias* 155.24; *per easdem vias* 252,18; *non eadem via ac substantia* 251,20. *Per (eundem) tenorem rationis* is an amplification of *eadem ratione.*
249.19–23 *vocandi . . . adgnoscat*: For the argument see Ch. III.c. The syntax of this passage is not clear. I start the discussion with l. 21:

In Barwick's text *absurdum* (N) or *absonum* (Cauchius' conjecture for the impossible *obsorum* of the *ed. princeps*) (both meaning 'discordant, incongruous'), as well as *socium* and *dignum*, are governed by an absent noun or pronoun, 'it', 'this word'; *qui videri potest similis incessus* may be compared to 156.2 *(Ager quoque usu, non ratione dicitur). quae mihi ratio vix videtur adhibenda* (translation: 'in this case, analogy can hardly be applied, I think'). Cf. on 246.26 *quam partem orationis*. Thus, we could translate here: '(adverbs) of compelling or answering, in which case a similar process or word sequence can be seen'. It is rhetorically more forceful to replace Barwick's full stop after *veniebant* by a colon, and to interpret the *qui*-phrase as a feigned concession, which then is countered by its sequence: 'Adverb of compelling or answering, in which case . . . seen, is at any rate discordant etc.' But in view of the foregoing occurrences of the pural it is more natural to supply *adverbia* with *vocandi respondendive*, not *adverbium*. The right solution was seen long ago by Christ 1862, 119, who printed the phrase as a query: *vocandi . . . , qui . . . 'heus veniebant'*? The translation explains this solution: 'Adverbs of address and answer,—how can there be seen a similar process and sequence, *'heus curro', 'heus veniebant'*? It (sc. *heus/heu*) is at any rate discordant, is not the associate of the πανδέκτης and deserves to be acknowledged (as its child) by the special force and power of the interjection.' Winterbottom is inclined to insert after *vocandi* <*vero*>, because "the contrast with the previous instances needs to be made clear". Without this insertion, however, the suddenness of the rhetorical question is more forceful.

249.20 *incessus*: Cf. *incedit* (l. 18). *TLL s.v.* 892.35.

249.23 *vis et potestas adgnoscat*: Hendiadys followed by the singular predicate, cf. *LHS* II § 232, Adgnosco, 'to acknowledge (a child) as one's own', *OLD s.v.* 2ab, *TLL* 1361.7 ff.; *potestas*, cf. *patria potestas* and similar expressions. Romanus plays with the sense of *potestas* 'legal power' just mentioned and that of *potestas* 'power, force'. In *Dig.* 9.4.1 we find *actionum vis et potestas.*

249.24–31 *Sed . . . priventur*: The function of this passage is to prepare the transition to the discussion of the ending in *-e* or *-o* and the forms of the superlative. Romanus is pretending that *collatio* can offer a counter-argument (*defensionis aliquid*) against the foregoing conclusion about the adverbs of address and answer, but immediately throws it out of court. Of course, a counter-argument cannot be obtained from *collatio*. See Ch. III.d.

249.24–251.19 *Sed . . . tradens*: The discussion first concentrates on

the relationship between the endings of adverbs in *-e* or *-o* and their capability to have either synthetic or analytic grades of comparison, and then switches to the possibilities of interchange of these endings (see Ch. III.d).

In this part Romanus quotes six times passages from earlier writers, all of which recur in the long list of adverbs. There they help to restore the text here. See on 250.3 (= 281.1–4); 250.4–5 (= 259.20–1); 250.14–5 (= 283.10–4); 251.6–7 (= 255.9–14) and 251.12 (= 255.7–9). At 250.29–31 (see there) he refers to a rule made by grammarians, which rule is also found at 259.21–3 with a reference to this place. The quotations in the list are factual, in this introduction they are part of the argument and put into a more literary context.

249.24–7 *Sed . . . obsecundet*: Cauchius found *ita* in the *ed. princeps* and deleted it, probably because of *quam*, which word he found in his MS and substituted for *quamquam*. N offers both *quamq.* and *ita*. We could read as follows: *sed collatio quamque comparationem . . . ita nominat*, translated by 'but *collatio* and what Umbrius Primus thus calls *comparatio* etc.' and interpret Romanus' phrase as presenting the same as two separated entities. However, my colleague Kleywegt thinks the ensuing asyndeton in *collatio . . . possit adferre, quantitatis <sc. collationem> fatearis* unacceptably harsh, and proposes *sed <quamquam> collatio, quam . . . nominat, . . . possit adferre, quantitatis e.q.s.*, but this would give an odd transition to a new point. With Winterbottom I think the asyndeton fine and let it stand. He also doubts the necessity of deleting *ita*.

249.24 *Sed*: introducing a new point into the discussion, see *KS* II 74–5 and cf. Rom. 250.23 and 252.25.

249.24 *collatio . . . comparatio*: In Roman *artes* these terms are interchangeable, but the remark on Umbrius Primus' use suggests that Romanus rejects the term *comparatio*. Indeed, in this section, at least, he uses *collatio* only. *Collatio (comparatio)* may include *superlatio* as well, e.g. here, 281.2 and Char. 246.9. At other places it has a restricted sense, e.g. Quint. 1.5.45, Char. 144.20 and 242.5. See Jeep 1893, 151 ff. As far as I can see, *collatio* is mostly connected with morphologically synthetic comparatives only, not with analytic ones. Therefore, Romanus can say that some adverbs do not have *collatio (non capit collationis officia)*, but *per augmenta venire sublimius* (250.6 and 9 f.). Contrast Char. 144.25 f. *quaedam autem nulla declinatione in conlationem veniunt, quibus accidit magis <et maxime>, item minus et minime, velut rudis, proprius, sobrius*, although a few lines before he has said that some adjectives *primum et secundum gradum recipiunt tantum modo.* On the implication of

the latter remark about *magis proprius* for the theory of the adverb see on 252.22–5.

249.25 *defensionis aliquid*: Cf. 250.13 *quid altioris causae* and 251.12 *quidquid . . . elegantiarum.*

249.26–7 *quando . . . obsecundet*: Sc. *collatio.* For the subjunctive see *OLD s.v. quando* 3 *in fine. Obsecundare* is explained in *TLL s.v.* 179.29 ff. by *sequi*; it is better, however, to take it as the Latin equivalent of παρακολουθεῖν or παρέπεσθαι, terms used by Greek grammarians in connection with the accidents. Cf. Char. 233.6 *adverbiis accidunt . . . comparatio.* Artigraphers are wont to remark that only *nomina quae aut qualitatem aut quantitatem significant* (Probus IV 57.15 f., Char. 198.22) admit (synthetic) comparison. See Jeep 1893, 152. But Romanus' remark about *adverbia quantitatis* very rarely having gradation is unique.

249.27 *etenim*: See on 248.7.

249.28 *superlatio: Superlativo* is a superfluous emendation of Fabricius (1551), for personification of *superlatio* is congruous with Romanus' style. Cf. 247.16–8 *(adverbium) ad consortium alligavit . . . vocavitque*; 248.8 *qualitas . . . sonat* and 155.7 f. *nomina . . . genetivum varie pronuntiant*; 164.21 f. Rom.-Pliny *accusativus per eis loquetur.*

249.29–30 *item . . . priventur: tam (ea) . . . aut* seems impossible in Latin. The easiest correction is to read *tamen.* For *ut tamen*, cf. Rom. 264.1; *OLD s.v. tamen* 5a and Gaius, *Dig.* 9.2.4.1. 264.1. Otherwise Fabricius' *quam* or Keil's *quam quae* instead of *aut* (N) will do. Keil, followed by Barwick, assumes a lacuna after *doctissime*, because he misses examples of adverbs of quality which do not accept gradation. I wonder, however, whether Romanus is not intentionally vague here. He is hurrying on to his next subject, has no need to spend more time on the matter under discussion here, and so is vague about which other adverbs of quality and quantity he has in mind. Therefore, I follow Winterbottom's suggestion and print *doctissime, ut tam<en quaedam alia> quae habentur e.q.s.*

249.30–31 *quaedam . . . priventur*: E.g. *idoneus* and *necessarius* do not admit of synthetic gradation (Char. 242.6 ff. *et al.*), nor do *fidus* and *pius* (Char. 144.24) and *memoriter* (146.20 f.).

249.31–250.1 *Quorum . . . dirigatur: Si actio* was in Cauchius' MS; he himself conjectured *ratio*, which is found in N. *Dirigere in -e litteram* etc. is a common technical term for 'to end a word in -e', cf. Romanus-Pliny 160.17 and 167.10, and see *OLD s.v.* 3c. Here, however, Romanus connects this thought with another one, viz. that such an ending is in accordance with the rules of analogy (*ratio*). A

more prosaic formulation in 167.10: *Glossemata ut toreumata . . . regula dativo et ablativo in bus derigit* and in 281.1–4 . . . *quotienscumque comparativo gradu sunt adverbia, in e litteram exeunt.*

250.1–3 *ut rare . . . 'essent'*: The same remark with the same quotation recurs at 281.1–4. There, the correct number of Cicero's book is given, viz. VIII. Both passages give *essent*, against the correct *essem* of Cicero's MSS.

250.3–4 *Ferendum etenim: Etenim* (see on 248.7) proves that Romanus condemns Cicero's *tutissimo*. Why *tutissimo* is incorrect, appears from the following discussion. The idea of *ferendum* provides the link with what follows, and is even corrected by *immo vero.*

250.4–5 *rhetoris 'tu . . . legis'*: The same quotation in 259.20 f., but without *rhetoris*. Against Barwick I put *rhetoris* outside the quotation, and assume that Romanus uses *rhetor* = '*the* orator' instead of the usual *orator* (*TLL s.v. orator* 896.70 ff.), like the Greek ὁ ῥήτωρ. Cf. *poeta* for Vergil, Char. 303.10, on which see Schoell, *Rh.Mus.* 1879, 630 ff. Cicero, *Ep. ad Atticum* 16.3.1 has *Hunc* (sc. ἀρχέτυπον) *tu tralatum in macrocollum lege arcano convivis tuis.*

250.5–11 *immo vero . . . poterimus*: From 250.31 ff. and l. 11 it appears that *rare, rarius, rarissime* is said *cum ratione.* From l. 5 the same conclusion is drawn for *arcano.* The reason for the latter statement is that this word does not admit (synthetic) comparison and one does not say, therefore, **arcane, *-ius, *-issime,* not any more than **false, *-ius, *-issime. Arcano,* therefore, is to be treated like *sedulo* and other adverbs in *-o.* They are analogically correct and make comparison by means of *magis* and *maxime.* Under this interpretation Cicero's *tutissimo* (l. 3) is incorrect. In line 8 *nec* was deleted by Cauchius, understandably enough, for we know no difference in comparison in Latin *artes* for *sedulo, consulto* or *tuto,* although in dictionaries *consultius* (*TLL* 585.26) and *tutius* (*OLD*) are mentioned, not *sedulius,* but this is rather a coincidence. Romanus, however, anticipates his discussion of the passage from Helenius Acron in ll. 11 ff.

250.5 *cum ratione*: Cf. l. 11 *cum ratione* and 150,20.

250.6 *capit collationis officia*: In connection with comparison of adjectives *recipere collationem* is usual, e.g. 171.19 and Char. 144.21; 238.14 and 233.20. Romanus-Pliny 145.25 has *superlationem capere.* Romanus now varies the expression. For *capere officia* see *TLL s.v. officium* 525.31.

250.6–7 *non . . . ut dicamus: Non* governs the whole sentence up till *sed* (8). Cf. 160.1–2 and Char. 203.13 f. *nemo pronomen non habet genetivum*

ut <dicamus> neminis, ut quibusdam videtur e.q.s. Romanus uses again *variatio* by saying in the first series *arcanissimeque* and in the second simple *falsissime.* Moreover, *arcanissimeque dicamus* has rhythm: (*arcanissi*)*meque dicamus* ó o o ó o.

250.8 *sed ut sedulo*: 'But it (sc. *arcano*) goes like *sedulo*'. The addition in p, *sedulo eo consulto tuto similiter qualitatis sunt*, looks very much like a gloss.

250.9–10 *Haec... sublimius*: *Ordines ducere* = 'to form rows', *OLD s.v. ordo* 2a and 7b. *Duo pro duos* 160.20 (Romanus-Helenius Acron) and see Char. 82.20 ff. The two rows meant are one consisting of *magis* with an adverb, the other of *maxime* with an adverb. *Augmentum* is used elsewhere too to indicate comparison by means of *magis* and *maxime*, see *TLL s.v.* 1361.25, e.g. Probus IV 56.33 and Diomedes I 405–6. *Sublimius venire*, cf. *in comparationem venire* (Char. 144.26); terms such as *gradus* and *elatio* will have prompted the image of climbing here.

250.10 *clanculo*: This adverb not before Apuleius (*TLL s.v.*)

250.11 *dumtaxat*: Romanus uses this word three times more: 165.13; 166.17 and 168.1. The addition *dumtaxat cum ratione* is necessary, for *in consuetudine* the form *raro* is used. Cf. 251.7 and the note there.

250.11–23 *Viderit... meritorum*: Here another digression, which attacks Helenius Acron for his explanation of *sedulo* = *sine dolo.*

250.11 *viderit*: "Fut. ex. als Mittel zur Hervorhebung und Betonung", A. Leeman – H. Pinkster, *M. Tullius Cicero, De Oratore Libri III* (Heidelberg 1985), on I.246; see also *K.-S.* I 148.

250.12 *Helenius Acron*: Romanus quotes or mentions this commentator thirteen times in all, see *Index scriptorum* in the edition of Barwick. He probably lived in the second century A.D. See the lemma in *dkP* (Strzelecki) and Schmidt § 444.

250.13 *quid... perspexerit: reive* is amplification of *causae*, and nothing more. *Altioris (causae)*: 'more profound' or 'more elevated', cf. 247.22, Pliny, Ep. 30.1 *altissima eruditio* and Quint. 8.3.2 *altiores artes.* Compare *TLL s.v.* 1776.10 ff. and 1780.28 ff. respectively.

250.12–3 *in commentariis... attulit: In* before *commentariis* (thus Cauchius) is necessary. Cauchius also gives *in Adelphis*, but because of *commentarios attulit* this time the preposition is best left out. 260,17 and 283.10 *Helenius Acron in Terenti Adelphis* are different. Unless we read *in Adelphos*, cf. e.g. Gellius 2.6.1 *commentaria in Vergilium.* The combination *commentarios afferre* is unique (*TLL s.v. affero* 1205.83 f. and *s.v. commentarius* 1860.41). Usual is *comm. componere.* The meaning of 'commentary,

annotations' from Suetonius onwards (*TLL l.l.*). *Non indiligentes*: For the litotes, cf. Gellius 15.28.1 *Cornelius Nepos . . . rerum memoriae non indiligens.*
250.14 *ita disserit*: Cf. Cic., *Rep.* 1.21 *ita disseruit.*
250.14–6 *'ut falso' . . . esse sedulo*: At 283.10–4 Romanus once again quotes from Acron's annotations. There Barwick correctly takes *nisi forte hic nomen est sine dolo* as part of the quotation. I am inclined to end the quotation after *sedulo* (12) and to take *quamquam . . . falso* as Romanus' comments. In our passage the text as printed by Barwick makes one guess on what grounds Romanus can suggest that Helenius Acro took *sedulo* as meaning *sine dolo.* Therefore, I think that something has been lost by dittography and I supply <*hic nomen est sine dolo*> after *nisi forte* as part of the quotation.Then Romanus continues with an indignant phrase, '*Sine dolo' putat esse sedulo e.q.s!*. See also Ch. III.d. The etymological explanation of *sedulo* = *sine dolo* is common in Latin grammatical texts, see Maltby 1991 *s.v.*
250.16 *vel ideo cum industria*: According to Barwick these words were deleted by Cauchius, and he follows him. On the microfilm I can only see in the margin *Al.* (sign for a different reading in Cauchiuss' MS) followed by undecipherable word or words. Keil retains the four words in question. *Cum industria* means 'with diligence, diligently', and can function as an equivalent of *sedulo*, but unlike *de* and *ex industria* it is not found in the sense of 'intentionally, on purpose'. If the deletion is accepted, *cum sit e.q.s.* probably means 'he thinks that *sedulo* is *sine dolo* and not *cum industria*, although it is at any rate different'. But the point of the concessive clause is not evident to me.To this comes that from 283.13 *quamquam sit et sine dolo* it follows that in other contexts Romanus would accept the etymology. However, the presence of *vel ideo cum industria* cannot well be due to a glossator, and these words are in accordance with Romanus' style of adding a second explanation. A solution may be that Romanus is playing on possible meanings of *cum industria*: 'with diligence' and 'on purpose', in the way he will do at 274.22–4 with *parcissime.* But also under this interpretation the function of the causal clause is not clear at all. Therefore, I put *cruces.* For *Ideo . . . cum*, cf. *OLD s.v. ideo* 1a *in fine; TLL s.v.* 214.75 ff.
250.17 *utique*: Cf. 160,29; 171.3; 283.14 (if by Romanus); at all these places the sense of 'at any rate, certainly' fits in better than 'at least', a later meaning (Szantyr § 264). In our passage the sense 'completely' would do well. Cf. Quint. 2.5.5 *non utique* = 'absolutely not'.
250.17 *convenit*: sc. the sense of *sedulo* = *sine dolo.*

250.18 *puerorum ineunte vita salus*: Cauchius' *ineuntis vitae* seems more regular; *TLL s.v. ineo* 1295.49 ff. records instances of *ab ineunte vita* etc. Perhaps Romanus thought the construction with an ablativus qualitatis more refined.
250.18 *retexenti*: 'to tell again, to tell', *OLD s.v.* 3b. In this sense not before Apuleius.
250.19 *curam sollicitudinemve*: another case of *abundantia.*
250.20 '*ego . . . sedulo*': The quotation at 283.12 begins at *usque a.* Terence's line should read *ego istos vobis usque a pueris curavi ambos sedulo.*
250.21–2 *quasi . . . esset*: 'as if he had to contend at law about amends for the offence of fraud'. This translation indicates that *criminis dolique* is a hendiadys.
250.22–3 *ac non . . . meritorum: Ac non . . .* A chiasmus with *de satisf. crim. dolique certandum* is achieved by the the insertion of *ostentatione*, for in itself, this word is superfluous after *prae se ferendum. Prae se ferenda merita* would spoil the chiasmus and the rhythm.
250.23–251.19 *Sed quidam . . . tradens*: Romanus picks up the theme of endings in *-e/-o.* See Ch. III.d.
250.23 *ea ratione*: Viz. the explanation given in 249.31–250.11 that adverbs of the *-o* stems end in *-e*, when they accept gradation, otherwise in *-o.*
250.23 *Sed quidam . . . expedire*: Independent confirmation for this statement that any *-e* can be replaced by *-o* and *vice versa* can be found in Diomedes *GL* I 406.12 f., if one interprets his words in isolation from its context. See Ch. III.d.
250.23–4 *consortii iure*: 'by right of their partnership', *TLL s.v. ius* 99.30 ff. The *consortium* meant is either that between adverbs and specifically nouns or between adverbs and all other parts of speech.
250.24 *e et o . . . expedire*: 'that the letters e and *o* help one another' or 'that *e* and *o* supply one another with letters', a choice expression for 'alternate with each other' Romanus likes the verb *expedire*, cf. 248.11 and 249.4. *Succedens*, cf. Terentius Scaurus *GL* VII 23.15 *proprium litterarum . . . invicem succedere; ibid.* 23.22 *ita cum h eiusdem sit facultatis.*
250.25 *ut credam. Non quia negem*: In view of 251.7 and 247.3 I put a full stop, not a colon, after *credam.*
250.26 *Voturios . . . contra*: Romanus is deliberately not explicit about the alternative forms of *vorsus* and *olli*, for otherwise *olli* should have been left out: its alternative is *illi* (cf. Char. 350.17), not **elli.* My explanation makes Winterbottom's deletion of *et olli* superfluous.

250.26 *et contra . . . reperiri*: Like *invenire, reperire* is customary in this context, cf. e.g. Quint. 8.3.79 and see *OLD s.v.* 1a. . . . *et contra dictum . . . reperiri*: 'and conversely, are found to have been said'. Cf. l. 29 *contra.*
250.27 *In mediis . . . partibus*: Hyperbaton. *Partibus* is Keil's correction of N's *activus*, which is evidently wrong; Cauchius offers *actibus*, which is grammatically correct but no more than that.
250.27–8 *lepidi pictura sermonis: lepidus* = 'elegant, pleasant'. This word is often used in discussions on archaisms, e.g. Aulus Gellius 11.7.1. See on 251.17. For *pictura* = 'impression' see *OLD s.v.* 5.
250.28 *finis . . . terminatur*: Instead of the more usual *nomen . . . terminatur*, as at 156.16 and Char. 43.4.
250.28 *aiunt*: The grammatical subject, of course, is not *quidam* of l. 23, but the *conoscenti.* The verb is here used as in legal texts (*OLD s.v.* 3): 'they prescribe, make the rule'.
250.28–9 *aiunt quia . . . vincit*: Cf. 252.8 *sciens regulae, quia . . . clauderetur*, 173.5 *additque quia . . . generat* and 270.30 *nesciens quia . . . est.* See *OLD s.v. quia* 6.
250.29 *o vel ei contra e littera*: Cauchius and Barwick delete the second *ei*, but in this abundant style it can be retained. The first *ei* refers to *e* (l. 28), the second to *o*, mentioned before.
250.29–30 *modo . . . par est*: Cf. 259.21–3, a text which helps to restore the right readings here. A comparison of these two texts shows that here Romanus has embellished what was put in a more direct way there: 259.21–23 *o littera cum est in novissima parte vocis, ut supra diximus, modo vincit, modo vincitur, modo alternat, modo par est.*—250.28–30 *ubi vero finis e littera terminatur, aiunt quia succedens ei o vel ei contra e littera modo vincit, modo vincitur, modo alternat, modo par est.*

The distinction of these four alternatives made here is unique in Latin grammars. The difference between the third (*alternat*) and the fourth alternatives (*par est*) is not immediately evident, but the examples show that different syntactical usages determine the third group (*digno te* x *digne*), whereas the fourth alternative is characterized by free choice.

The principle of this distinction is different from that of the four categories of *additio, detractio, immutatio*, and *permutatio*, which is well-known in Latin grammar and rhetoric; it is used in discussions of figures and tropes, barbarism and solecism. See Ax 2000, 198. But other fourfold distinctions were also made (Usener 1892).
250.30–251.7 '*cum dicimus . . . dictitemus*': Note the *variatio* of predicates (*dicimus, disserimus, dicimus, possumus dicere*) and of examples (*liquido vel*

raro; cotidiano nec cotidiane etc.) after the rather monotonous series of *modo* (four times) in ll. 29–30.

251.1 *vel raro . . . <vel rare>: Vel raro* is Keil's ingenious emendation of *iurare* of both N and C; if this is accepted, Barwick's further addition of *<vel rare>* seems necessary. At 280,24 and 281.6 Romanus gives *raro* as an explanation of *rare* and *rarenter* respectively. *Raro*, not *rare*, is thus acceptable here in a context of *consuetudo*, whereas *rare* is said to be the right form according to *ratio*, 250.11.

251.1–7 *liquido . . . commodo: Liquido* is, indeed, the usual form (*TLL* 1488.23); the same is true for *cotidiano* (*ibid.* 1091.37). *Vero* and *vere* differ in sense. As to *digno te* see *TLL* s.v *dignus* 153.15, where no other examples are listed. *Commodo/e*: '*eodem tempore*', *TLL* 1924.52 and 56 f.

251.2–5 *et cum . . . indigne*: The *app. crit.* shows two transpositions of different sizes introduced by Barwick and accepted here. It is thus no longer necessary with Keil to indicate a lacuna after *fecisti* (l. 4). For *rarissime* cp. 281.1 *Rarissime ut manifestissime* and 250.1–2.

251.5–7 *par . . . dictitemus*: We expect an example of *commode;* this is given 255.7 ff., where first the presence of *commodo* in Plautus' *Frivolaria* is mentioned only, then a passage from Titinius' *Iurisperita* and one from Sisenna's *Milesiae* are quoted, both having *commode.* The text of C (*dictionis commodo. quae ut Plautus in fibrolaria Commode fecit. Ennius non quod*) omits at the beginning *commode* and the words from Plautus' comedy but has *quae* (= *-que*?), and adds the missing reference for *commode*, although giving *Ennius*, not *Titinius.* Therefore, combining both traditions one may write: *dictionis, commodo commodeque, ut Plautus in Frivolaria 'commodo dictitemus', 'commode' Titinius.* Because of the quotation at 255.14, which has *commode ecce exit*, one might retain *fecit*, though outside the quotation, and interpret it as 'to make a form' or 'to utter' (cf. *OLD* 5c and 6), but Cauchius' *fecit Ennius* may well have come from *Titinius* without *fecit* An alternative is to change *fecit* into *exit* as part of the quotation. Note the chiasmus *Plautus commodo . . . commode Titinius.* In the first three cases Romanus refers to daily speech for examples, in the last cases to literary authority.

251.5 *ut . . . dictionis*: *Istius modi*, cf. Varro *ap.* Rom.-Pliny 164.25 *exemplis . . . istius modi* (and 149.25) and cf. *TLL* 1275.44 ff.; *dictio* = 'word' in l. 10, cf. *TLL s.v.* 1007.35 ff., but here the singular leads to the interpretation 'uttering, mode of expression' etc. The clause may be translated as follows: 'as (is the case) in many instances of this kind of expression'. Then the reference will be to the fourth class of words,

now under discussion. An alternative is to suppose that the plural form *dictionum* is needed here.

251.8–10 *Non quia . . . dictionem*: Another digression, not necessary to the argument. At l. 11 Romanus comes back to the last class of words. Remarks on dialects occur occasionally, e.g. 279.1, cf. Pliny *ap.* Priscian II 26.16 about the Umbrian dialect (see Beck 1894, praef. XI, Della Casa 1969, fr. 126 and Quint. 1.5.56 with F.H. Colson's comm. *a.l.*).

251.8 *Non quia negem*: See on 247.3.

251.8 *Aufinum*: Codex N has *safinum*, but Keil deciphered the word as *Sasinum*; he accepted the suggestion of his *praeceptor* (see the dedication of *GL* I), Fr. Ritschl (*Parerga zu Plautus und Terenz*, Berlin 1845, I 6 = *Parergon Plautinianorum Terentianorumque* vol. I, Amsterdam 1965), that *Sassinum* or *Sassinam* is the right reading. But whereas the *Marrucini* and *Vestini* are neighbours in Picenum and *Teate* (nowadays Chieti) is the main township in the region of the *Marrucini*, *Sassina* in the North of Umbria is far away from this part of Italy. Pliny *NH* 3.12.206–7 *Sequitur quarta regio . . . Marrucinorum Teatini . . .* (107) *Vestinorum . . . Peltuinates quibus iunguntur Aufinates Cismontani* points to the right reading, *Aufinum* (now Ofena). I made this correction long before I read in *RE s.v. Aufinum* that in *CIL* IX, p. 320 Theodor Mommsen had suggested the same. At 279.1 Romanus simply says *hodieque nostri per Campaniam sic locuntur*; here he uses two groups of expressions each consisting of two descriptions, to indicate one region.

251.8 *interque Vestinos sed et Teatinis*: Keil's fine emendation of *inter question. osteatinis* in N. For *sed et*, cf. Rom 180.16; 248.17; 256.29 etc. *Marrucinis* (so in C, *Marucinis* N) is the right reading, *RE s.v.*

251.9 *esse moris*: Cf. 248.3–4; 276.11 *quod an possit esse rationis, vix specto* and see *KS* II 1, 450.

251.9 *relegare*: 'to banish, to dismiss', cf. 150,22 *consuetudinis elegantiam relegabis* and see *OLD s.v.* 2.

251.10 *o videlicet . . . dictionem: Claudere* is usually said of a final letter, not of a speaker, see *TLL* 1309.81 ff. See also on 252.9. *Eadem* = 'the one just mentioned'.

251.11–9 *itaque . . . tradens*: This section is part of the discussion on endings in *-e/-o*, and focuses on the fourth class, distinguished in 250.30 ff. At the same time it prepares the reader for Romanus' statements about his methods at 252.3 ff. See Ch. III. d.

251.11–2 *veteres . . . evadere*: Kroll 1924, 95 quotes this sentence and

adds a Greek translation of his own: τοὺς παλαιοὺς αὕτη εἴτε εὐμάρεια εἴτε ἀναλογία εἴτε ἄλλη τις κομψότης λανθάνειν οὐκ ἐδύνατο, thereby suggesting the existence of a Greek precedent, or, at least, stressing the Greek-like character of the Latin phrase.

251.11 *veteres*: Romanus himself uses *veteres* (254.5; 152.31 etc), although *antiqui* may occur in passages he quotes from other authors (156.26; 169.21; 276.9 etc.). The authors he indicates by the term *veteres* range in time from Ennius through Plautus and Terence to Afranius (coeval with the Gracchi) and Q. Caepio (ab. 130 B.C.). However, at 152.31 ff. he argues that *veteres* used both *ambos* and *ambo* without any difference and quotes examples from Afranius, Terentius and Vergil(!). Does Vergil here belong to the *veteres*? From terminology used by other authors (cf. Barwick 1922, 200 ff. and Siebenborn 1976, 95 ff.) one would expect Vergil to be called one of the *auctores*, the classical authors. But, as far as I can see, Romanus does not use the term *auctores* in the sense of a clearly circumscribed class of authors. See also on 1.18 *auctoritas* and Ch. II.f.

251.11 *facultas . . . elegantiarum*: See on 251.17. *Sive ratio* is already Cauchius' conjecture (not noted by Barwick); Keil made the same correction.

251.12 *Denique*: 'For instance', cf. 252.7 and 265.19 and see *TLL s.v.* 533.68 ff. (from Fronto onwards).

251.12 *evadere*: used here, like *effugere*, in the sense of 'to elude' (not in *TLL* or *OLD*).

251.14–5 *'cum . . . adiutari'*: At 255.7–8 this quotation runs as follows: *'Cum ab isto viderem cotidio consiliis hosteis adiutari'*, and one should correct here accordingly, because Romanus starts that lemma by *Cotidio ut falso pro cotidie Q. Caepio* and because the context here demands it anyway. Cauchius gives each time *adiutari*, a verb frequent in Plautus and Terence, whereas N has the more usual form *adiuvari*. For Q. Servilius Caepio, ab. 100 A.D., see *ORF* 1/42, Malcovati p. 294 ff. and *OCD s.v.*

251.15–9 *Quae quidem . . . tradens*: See Ch. III.d for the argument.

251.15 *reprehendenda*: Cf. Quint. 12.3.11 *verum ea ne quis credat eo reprehendenda, quod e.q.s. Quae . . . reprehendenda . . . iudico*, cf. 252.5 *quod iudico . . . exsequendum.*

251.16–9 *siqua . . . tradens*: This complicated clause consists of one grammatical subject (*ratio*) with two appositions followed by two predicates introduced by *-ve* (?) and *-que* respectively, and each accompanied

by two conjoint participles. Predicates and participles go in parallel. As to *-ve/-que*, see on 247.17 The imagery of *ratio* in a battle giving ground and finally surrendering to *auctoritas* is presented in successive stages.

251.16 *siqua*: At 283.1 (cf. 285.17) Romanus explains this word by *siquo, si aliquo modo.*

251.16 *in legibus suis durans*: Cf. Quint. 1.1.5 *in diversa quoque loquendi ratione durant.*

251.17 *elegantiarum: Elegantia* is a favourite term in the discussion of *ratio* vs. *auctoritas* and *usus*. See Marache 1952, 146 f. and 221 f. In *TLL s.v.* 338.2, this aspect of its use is rather neglected. Discussion of *elegantia* often concerns *euphonia*, a term not used, though implied by Romanus. On this aspect see Siebenborn 1976, 154–5.

251.17 *alienis . . . remediis: remedia*, like Greek φάρμακον, 'enticements, allurements'. Not in *OLD*, but cf. Ammianus 19.12.24. For the enallage see on 248.1–2.

251.18 *adquiescens*: Cf. Pliny ap. Pompeium V 144.15: *debes quidem adquiescere regulis, sed in derivatis sequere auctoritatem.* The sense of 'to acquiesce in, to give assent to' (*TLL* 423.28 ff.) will fit best here.

251.18–9 *fidemque proclamat: Ratio* no longer upholds its own laws (l. 16), it can abjure its allegiance to its own decrees about these laws and proclaim allegiance to the old writers with their irregular forms. *Auctoritas* includes here both *veteres* and (classical) *auctores*. See Ch. II.f.

251.19 *auctoritatis videlicet . . . tradens*: Cf. Rom.-Pliny 151.24 *si manus veterum licentiae porrigemus* and 164.24 *et tamen manus dat (*sc. *Varro) praemissae regulae ridicule.* C offers *alienae*, but this obscures the specific sense of *auctoritatis. Manus tradere* is more refined than *manus dare*, the usual expression, cf. Cic., *Ep. ad Att.* 13.11.

Nec adeo: see *TLL* 613.73 ff. 'and not as much'. *Sanctio* is both the penalty for *abrogatio* or *transgressio* of laws (*OLD s.v.* 2), and the decree ordering this penalty. I take both genitives (*auctoritatis, sanctionis*) as explanations of *alienis: ratio* surrenders itself to strange powers, namely those of *auctoritas*, but the old writers can no longer order a penalty.

251.20–252.7 *Nam . . . subrogata*: Having said that he does not reject older forms which are irregular according to the rules of analogy (l. 15), Romanus now proceeds to a description of the plan of his proper work, namely the list of adverbs which need explanation or deserve a remark. But first he inserts as as a kind of afterthought, after his discussion of what the *veteres* have done and as a transition to

his new subject, a comparison with dialectics. This comparison, moreover, strengthens his own position: 'Because on the definition of dialectics opinions differ, I *a fortiori* must have the freedom to discuss different, and deviating, meanings and forms of adverbs'. See also Ch. III.e.

251,20–1 *Nam . . . terminarint: Nam* occurs four times more in this introduction (247.15; 248.9; 250.14; 252.30) and every time it provides "subsidiary information with regard to another, more central, discourse unit" (Kroon 1995, 144). This use is its most common one. Here, however, the particle seems to have a forward-linking function and to be merely transitional (cp. Peterson on Quint. 10.1.83; *K.-S.* 119 and Kroon 1995, § 7.3). In *nam et* (cp. Rom.-Pliny 153.30 and Rom. 262.15) the second word strengthens *nam*, cp. *namque*. In this section Romanus links the various themes together by stressing excusable variety as their common factor (variety in *Kriterien der Sprachrichtigkeit*, different definitions of dialectics, discussion of different uses and meanings of adverbs).

Statum . . . substantia: Status means 'position, character' here, and *substantia* (= οὐσία) often 'essence'. *Non eadem via nec substantia* might be an indication that Romanus is showing his knowledge of a very esteemed discipline, but he does not bother about the exact use of terms, for what does 'not in the same way nor substance' mean?. But I prefer to read *via, nec substantiam*, and take *substantiam* as an equivalent of *statum*: 'because people did not define the position of dialectics in the same way, nor yet its essence'. *Terminarint*: Is this a playful reminder by Romanus that he has discussed the *terminatio* of adverbs? *Terminare* in the sense of 'to define' is not common at all, but its synonym *definire* will have helped to create this sense.

251.21 [*et cetera quae Graece sequuntur*]: An annotation of a scribe who left out the Greek words of his exemplar. Cauchius found them in his MS and inserted them on a separate sheet.

251.22–252.2 *aliqui, . . .* πρότερον: *aliqui ut* is Cauchius' emendation for *aliquid* in his MS. The identification of Aquila is uncertain. The most likely candidate is the philosopher and τεχνογράφος Aquila, known from Syrianus' commentary on Hermogenes. His date was put c. 340 by B. Keil, Zwei Identificationen, *Hermes* 1907, 548–61, but in Schenkeveld 1991 I have argued for an earlier one. Aquila's definition is wrong as it stands, and very probably we should read . . . τῶν σημαινουσῶν φωνῶν καὶ τῶν σημαινομένων (tr. 'Dialectics is the method and the science of the sounds with meaning and the

things meant'). Then we have the well-known distinction between forms which express a meaning and their referents which are meant (cf. Diog. Laert. 7.62). The next definition looks unfinished, for one expects an indication of what comes next, as a translation shows: 'The method following nature which brings one earlier to nature . . .'. Now at the bottom of the inserted sheet Cauchius adds Greek letters, which have been partially interpreted by Keil as representing τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν νεύρων τοῦ λόγου διανοούμενα ('what is intended by the sinews of the *logos*'). The first letters are ΜΑΣ ΕΙΝ ΤΥ, and may stand for something like ἡμᾶς ης . . . But even so I cannot understand what is meant. Neither definition is found elsewhere. In D.L. 7.40 we have something parallel, when it is said that the Stoics "compare philosophy to a living being, likening logic to bones and sinews, ethics to the fleshier parts, and physics to the soul" (tr. A.A. Long & D.N. Sedley, *The Hellenistic Philosophers*, Cambridge 1987, vol. I, p. 158).

252.2–5 *multo . . . loquellarum*: Romanus claims that in view of different opinions among dialecticians there is the more reason for him to do or have . . . what? Grammatically *multo magis* must be taken with *morabor*, which verb, whatever its exact sense (see note on l. 4), suggests a treatment of meanings of adverbs, but in the line of reasoning the words have more sense when taken with *danda est impunitas.*

The phrasing would have looked less convoluted if Romanus had said *multo magis mihi danda est impunitas disserendi moranti in ingeniis . . .* Moreover, *danda quidem est, sed tamen cautior impunitas* contains an antithesis of words rather than of thought; therefore, it is not necessary to follow Keil's suggestion *cui danda quidem est impunitas, sed cautio, disserendi.*

252.4 *Inpunitas disserendi*: Cf. 248.1. But here it has more of παρρησία, *licentia. Disserere* is common in Romanus' work, and there is no need to accept *differendi*, which Keil prints as if given by N, though himself suggesting *disserendi.*

252.4 *morabor (ingenia)*: This verb form apparently means 'I shall dwell (on the different qualities of words)', but apart from Sen., *Phoen.* 30 *quid moror sedes meas?* I have not found a good parallel for this syntagma. Taken literally *morabor ingenia differentia* means: 'I shall detain, stand in the way of, different meanings'. If this sense is a good starting-point, one should read *multo minus* (not *magis!*), as Winterbottom rightly observes. At any rate, I would expect *morabor in ingeniis.* Perhaps Romanus is being influenced by *nil morari* with acc. (*TLL s.v.* 1498.75 ff.;

1499.68 ff.; 1500,27 ff.). Cauchius' *ornabo* presents us with fewer difficulties, cf. *TLL* 1030.38 ff.

252.4 *differentia . . . ingenia loquellarum: ingenium*, probably 'quality, meaning', cf. *TLL* 1535.40 ff. *Loquella* (more correctly *loquela*): From Varro onwards it is in use for 'word' (*TLL s.v.* 1657.50 ff.). *Differentia*: Romanus suggests a connection between his discussion and the tradition of *scriptores de differentiis*. Some of his own annotations fit in with this tradition, e.g. 266.20 ff. *Mutuo . . . in consuetudine est, mutue vero ut docte dici putant nec non et illi qui de differentiis scribunt*, but as a whole his list is not a good example of this kind of grammatical studies. For these see Strzelecki, art. *differentiarum scriptores, dkP* II 17.

252.6 *ut . . . subrogata: Subrogare* 'to substitute' (*OLD s.v.* 6). *Ratio* will be replaced by examples from suitable authors. For a similar view, cf. Char. 63.13. There it is said that because of their frequent use incorrect words in everyday speech attain the status of having *proprietas*.

252.6 *nobis*: Probably *pluralis maiestatis*, cf. l. 16.

252.6 *exemplis . . . bonorum*: Kroll 1924, 94 proposes to replace *idem istud* by *idoneis*. *Idem istud* seems meaningless here (not so in Char. 66.26), and therefore, though hesitatingly, I adopt this correction. Bonorum: cf. *boni auctores* (e.g. Quint. 10.1.74), although *boni*, when used substantively, invariably refers to 'good people' in a moral sense (*TLL* 2084.64 ff.). *Idoneis*, cf. Rom. 183,2 *idoneum . . . exemplum*. See also Kaster 1978, 184–6.

252.7 *Denique*: see on 251.12.

252.7 *Sisenna*: L. Cornelius Sisenna was born in 118 B.C. He is best known by his *Historiae*, which cover the wars of 91–79. He translated the Μιλησιακά of Aristeides, a collection of erotic stories, and in a commentary(?) on Plautus' Amphitryo also made some observations on the Latin language (cp. 153.30–1; 264.18–9). Romanus quotes from his works, especially the *Milesian Tales*, 17 times.

252.7–15 *Denique . . . et 'multi'*: The argument is somewhat confused. By using *quanti* and not *quanto*, Sisenna shows apparent awareness of the rule that the ending *-o* is restricted to adverbs of quality. But when he says *magno te stabit* this knowledge appears absent, for we say *magni te facit* etc. So far so good, but the insertion of *ut scilicet subsonaret quanti pretii* spoils the argument, for on this interpretation *quanti* is no adverb at all (see on ll. 12–3); perhaps Romanus just means to say 'when *quanti* is equivalent to *quanti pretii*'. Moreover, if *passim* (l. 14) means 'indiscriminately' (see there), Romanus combines

two ideas in one clause, the first one being necessary to his argument, the second not: 'However, we say *magni te facit* and *multi (te facit)* (a); there is no difference in meaning between these two expressions (b)'. The argument functions as an exemplification (*denique*) of the foregoing, in which he promises to underpin his case with examples of good writers.

252.8 *velut sciens regulae quia: sciens* with gen. 'acquainted with' (*OLD s.v.*); *quia*, see on 250,28. This rule is not enunciated elsewhere. At 254.2–6 Romanus says that adverbs of quality and quantity end in *-e* when in the dative the corresponding nouns end in *-o*.

252.8 [*et quantitatibus*]: These words are omitted in Cauchius' MS, rightly, and Christ 1862, 119 had already seen that they are an intrusion here. To retain these words would spoil Romanus' argument about Sisenna neglecting the rule concerning adverbs. See also Ch. III.e.

252.9 *o littera clauderetur*: In view of the usual construction of *claudere* (see on 251.10) I take *clauderetur* as being used impersonally here: 'because in the case of adverbs of quality word-ending occurs by means of the letter *-o*'.

252.9 *protulit*: Cf. 165.9; 169.4 (Pliny); 175.5 and 178.23. See also *prodere* 249.3 and 252.21.

252.10 '*nisi comminus excidisset*': Keil suggests *nisi comm. excipis*, <*sed*>. Even so, the meaning of the clause remains obscure. "If it (he/she) has not fallen nearby (or, if you do not catch it from nearby), for how much are they given? For so much, Olympias said, at the same time, giving him a kiss." The situation of a wager?

252.11–2 *subsonaret*: 'to sound at the same time, to be understood', In this technical sense *subaudire* (cf. *OLD s.v.*) is usual, e.g. 254.16; 259.18 and 310.14. At 297.7 the Greek ὑπακούεσθαι is found. See also on 248.10. Strictly speaking, if *quanti* = *quanti pretii*, it is no longer an adverb, cf. 259.18: *si subaudiretur iudicio, nomen est* (sc. *falso*).

252.14 *Et tamen*: See on 247.9. Cauchius reads *attamen*.

252.14 *passim*: 'indiscriminately, without any difference in meaning' (*OLD s.v.* 3), viz. between *magni* and *multi* used in combination with *facere*.

252.15 '*multi*'. *Et quia*: Both Keil and Barwick print a colon after *multi*, but Romanus starts a new train of thought, see next note.

252.15–21 *Et quia . . . requiremus*: The purpose of the list of adverbs, which starts at 253.1, has already been stated in ll. 4–7. Now it appears again, though in different words, and is given a wider scope:

quidve sit cum officiis . . . rationis quidve licentius proditum requiremus. The passage is introduced by a clause which gives the reason (*quia*) why the research has been undertaken, viz. the insistence of his audience, a well-known ploy of an author to justify his publication.

252.15–19 *Et quia . . . examen*: Two ways of construing this long period seem possible. In the first one *contendere a nobis* governs the clause *ut . . . examen* (sc. *sit*). Kroll (1924, 95, n. 19) proposed to read *examinemus* because of the rhythm ("Es ist vielleicht noch nicht bemerkt, dass er (sc. Romanus) die Klausel beobachtet"). In this solution Romanus' public urges him to examine whether analogy holds in the other cases. In the other construction *examen* is the direct object of *contendere a nobis* and *ut* goes with *in ceteris; (an ratio) teneat, examen* scans too. Now Romanus' public requests a discussion, as in other cases, whether analogy holds (sc. for *saepenumero*). The second interpretation is preferable, because there *saepenumero* becomes a matter of a discussion of its own; moreover, the connection with *illud* in l. 21 (*i.e.* the adverb *saepenumero*) becomes less strained than in the first interpretation. Under both interpretations the very first words contain a *double entendre* also: 'you contend me the usage of *saepenumero*' and 'you do not stop to . . .'.

An ratio teneat: 'whether *ratio* holds', see *OLD s.v. teneo* 21a; *examen, an* see *TLL* 1164, 60.

252.16–8 *licet . . . notet*: Statilius Maximus (probably second century A.D. (third part), wrote *De singularibus apud Ciceronem quoque positis*, a work dealing with rare words and forms in works of Cicero, see Zetzel 1974, 115 and Schmidt 1997, § 455.3. The function of this clause is to show Romanus' awareness of Statilius' censure (*notet*) of Cicero's use of *saepenumero*, which awareness he ascribes to his audience; nevertheless he uses this adverb. This kind of word play also at 274.22 ff. See Froehde 1892a, 664. *Saepenumero* frequently occurs in Cicero's works.

252.18–21 *per easdem . . . requiremus*: I do not understand the syntax of this phrase as printed by Keil and Barwick: *subire conabimur, quidve sit . . . quidve licentius proditum requiramus. Subire* with a relative clause occurs only in the impersonal construction *subit* (e.g. *quid sim . . ., subit* Ov., *Tr.* 3.8.38) with the meaning 'it comes to my mind', a sense which does not fit in here after *per easdem vias.* So *subire* goes with *per easdem* vias. *Requiramus* (thus Barwick) seems to govern both *quidve sit e.q.s.* and *quidve . . . proditum*, but if so, it is asyndetically on a par with *conabimur*. The asyndeton disappears when we take the first *quidve*

as standing for *quidque* (cp. on 247.17). It is also necessary to change *requiramus* into *requiremus*; the latter emendation has already been proposed by Zetzel 1974, 110. Cauchius changed *requiramus* of the *ed. pr.* into *conquiremus.*

252.19 *pedetemptim*: Again an adverb which Romanus will explain later on (277.1–5). After *saepenumero*, the use of which he accepts, he, as it were casually, now introduces another old word.

252.20 *cum officiis . . . rationis: Cum ratione* (250.11, cf. 150,20; 154.1 (Pliny), 180.10) states the same idea in a simpler way. Romanus has proceeded to his "peroration". *Officiis*: cf. on 250.6 *collationis officia.*

252.21–5 *Et prius . . . ponatur.* As the text stands, *illud* must refer to the word *saepenumero.* But the promise (*prius . . . disputemus*) is not fulfilled, and after the clause about Suetonius, *sed* comes as a surprise. It is not feasible, I think, to argue here that Romanus is hurrying on to his next subject, as I did on 249.29–30. With Winterbottom I posit a lacuna.

252.21 *Et prius:* Cf. on 248.1 *Et quid ego.*

252.22–5 *Suetonius . . . ponatur.* C. Suetonius Tranquillus, born ab. 70 A.D., is mentioned again at 260,28 f. and 307.18 f.; in the latter passage as author of *De rebus variis.* This work contained a discussion of prepositions, and it will have been employed here also. For the question, whether *De rebus variis* is an independent treatise or a part of *De viris illustribus,* see M. Fuhrmann, *dkP s.v. Suetonius* 2.

Praeverbium occurs in Varro, *de lingua Latina* VI 38 *et al.*, and in Gellius, *NA* 6.75 (in the sense of 'preposition, preverb'). Terentius Scaurus (2nd cent. A.D., *de orthographia, GL* VII 29.8 ff.) tells us that according to Varro there are four *adverbia localia,* and adds, *quae alii praeverbia vocant.* Then the prepositions *ex, ab, de, in* are discussed. Usener 1869, 97 and 102 (= *Kl. Schr.* (Berlin-Leipzig 1914), II 207 and 214) changed the last words into quae *ali<b>i praeverbia voca[n]t,* a change accepted by a.o. Goetz-Schoell, fr. 102, p. 223.2 ff. Apart from our passage *praeverbium* in the sense of 'adverb' is found in Ps. Corn. Fronto, *de differentiis* 521.17 and 24 ff.; 522.21 and 525.23 f. (= Char. V, 390.6 and 15 ff.; 391.8 and 396.1–3). The last passage is particularly interesting: *Praeverbium et adverbium. praeverbium est euphonon; adverbium et vitiosum et fictum est, tamen in usum est receptum.* The author does not use *adverbium.* The discussion about the nomenclature may be linked to the definition in e.g. Char. 233,27 (*adverbium est pars orationis quae praeposita verbo e.q.s.*), and the query in Priscianus III 89.14 ff. about the correct position of an adverb and, in general, the position of the adverb before the verb in almost all examples in the *artes.*

Of interest are the final words *quod post verbum, appellationem etiam nomenque ponatur.* This is one of the first times in Latin grammar that the combination adverb + adjective is recognized (such as in *bene culta*, Cic., *Quinct.* 12). Cf. Char. 199.20 f. *magis pius.* The first explicit evidence is found in *Excerpta Virgilii Grammatici*, *GL* VIII 199.23 ff.

252.22–5 *Suetonius . . . ponatur*: Christ 1862,119 proposes *quod ante, alii adverbium, quod . . . ponatur*, speaks about contradictory views, and apparently takes *quod* as *quia.* This is not necessary, Romanus uses *quod* as a relative pronoun. With Jeep 1893, 269 I interpret "man müsse 'praeverbium' nennen, *quod ante* und 'adverbium 'das *quod post . . . ponatur*".

252.24–5 *appellationem etiam nomenque*: For *appellatio* = 'adjective', see e.g. Char. 147.5–149.12; *TLL s.v.* 272.24 ff. only lists the more common meaning of 'appellative', 'a common noun'. I take *appellationem nomenque* as a hendiadys for *nomen appellativum*, to which category adjectives belong (Jeep 1893, 158 f.).

252.25–31 *Sed ut . . . potestate*: Because of the diversity of his material and out of consideration for his readers Romanus prefers an alphabetical list of adverbs to one arranged by other criteria. He puts these thoughts in embellished language, and uses at the end an argument drawn from the designation of *adverbium.* Christ 1862, 119 thinks that ll. 28–31 (*cum . . . potestate*) would be better placed after l. 25 *nomenque ponatur.* My summary shows this change to be superfluous.

252.25–6 *facilitas . . . requisita: facilitas*, 'ease', common in post-classical authors (*TLL* s.v. 72.24 ff.); *non requisita* 'without being asked for'.

252.26–8 *non . . . maxime*: Char. 235.18–241.10 discusses the formation of adverbia (235.5–7 *ad ea veniamus quae canonis ratione subnixa videntur*) after the end letters of their source words; Char.-Pal. 241.20–246.3 lists a large number of adverbs arranged according to their *significationes.* Perhaps Romanus means the first method by *enumerata . . . alligata*, the second one by *sapores . . . istius. Sapor* 'distinctive quality', *OLD s.v.* 2a. *Specimen* = εἶδος. This may refer to the Greek category of εἶδος, the heading under which grammarians discuss whether an adverb is πρωτότυπον or παραγωγόν. In Roman *artes* this aspect is not recognized as an *accidens. Ire per litteras*, cf. 150.6 *tramitibus nominum per litteras stratis.* In both cases, especially the latter one, the popular etymology of *littera* helps to understand the imagery, e.g. Diomedes 421.26–7 *littera dicta quasi legitura, quia legitur, vel quod legentibus iter ostendit.* Cf. Maltby 1991 *s.v.*

252.29–31 πανδέκτην: In view of the earlier occurrences of the this term (247.13, 15 and 249.22) I print it here in Greek. Tolkiehn

1908, 1165 f. discusses the use made by Petrus (*in Anecd. Helvet.* 167.5 f. Hagen *GL* VII) of this passage. *Omnia in se capit*: the translation of πάντα δέχεται, the basis of πανδέκτης. *Quasi collata per saturam*: See C.A. van Rooy, *Studies in Classical Satire and Related Literary Theory*, Leiden 1965, 1 ff.; *OLD s.v.* 2b; better *L.-S. s.v. satur*, II A. *per saturam* 'without order or distinction'. The Greek term was misunderstood by Clemens, *Ars gramm.* ed. Tolkiehn Leipzig 1928, 138.11 [. . .] *et 'pandecten', quod interpretatur omne dictum, quia omnis pars orationis cum desinit esse quod est, adverbium fit.*

252.30–1 *concessa . . . potestate*: The last clause of this introduction contains a rhetorical feature again, *enallage*, instead of what one might expect: *rerum variarum potestate.* At the same time, Romanus achieves a fine rhythm at this prominent spot.

APPENDIX I

MANUSCRIPT C AND JOHANNES CAUCHIUS

a. Codex Dousae *and its users, manuscript C and the Cauchii*

The University Library of Heidelberg has among its books one numbered *Codex Heidelbergensis 370,3.* As a *Beiband* to this item appears a copy of the *editio princeps* of Charisius' *Ars grammatica* edited by Giovanni Pierio Ciminio in 1532.[1] This copy once belonged to Johann Georg Graevius (1632–1703), who from 1662–1703 taught Classics at the University of Utrecht.[2] After his death this book, together with other books, was sold to the Heidelberg University. In the catalogue of Graevius' library[3] the Charisius edition is found at p. 118 under # 12 of the *Historici in Folio.* A note to this number says: *refertus emendationibus MSS Caucii,* unfortunately without a first name, but under ## 7 and 44 of the catalogue (pp. 117, 119) these annotations are ascribed to Antonius Cauc(i)us. Certainly, each of the five other volumes that come from the Graevius library was once in the possession of Antonius Caucus. The Director of the Department of Manuscripts and Old Printed Books of the University Library ("Leiter der Abteilung Handschriften und Alte Drucke"), Dr. Armin Schlechter, to whom I owe the relevant information, supposes that the annotations written in the margins of the Charisius edition are by the hand of Antonius Cauc(i)us. This hand is known from other items. Dr Schlechter does not eliminate, however, the possibility that Antonius's father, Johannes Cauc(i)us, wrote them. If so, the hands of father

[1] *Fl. Sosipatri Charisii, natione Campani, grammatici vetustissimi, Institutionum grammaticarum libri V* ab Iano Parrhasio olim inventi, ac nunc a Io. Pierio Cyminio Iani auditore in gratiam adulescentium Cosentinorum editi. The book was printed at Naples in 1532. See Keil p. XV and De Nonno 1982, 60. In the edition of Lindemann (1840) two prefaces of Ciminio (as well as that of Fabricius (ed. 1558)) are reprinted.

[2] W. Pökel, *Philologisches Schriftsteller-Lexikon*, Leipzig 1882 (repr. Darmstadt 1974), 99–100.

[3] *Catalogus Bibliothecae luculentissimae . . . quam. . . . vir summus Jo. Georgius Graevius,* Utrecht 1703.

and son are strikingly similar.[4] We know that the elder Cauchius had undertaken to prepare an edition of Charisius' work[5] and therefore it is almost certain that he, and not the son Antonius, wrote the marginalia. I will come back to this matter later on.

The existence of this copy of the first edition came to the notice of Heinrich Keil after he had sent the manuscript of the first volume of his *Grammatici latini* to the printer.[6] He mentions this in his preface (pp. xxv–xxviii) and communicates several readings from the excerpts of Cauchius in the *Addenda et Corrigenda* (pp. 606–10). When preparing his new Teubner edition of Charisius' grammar Karl Barwick used these annotations extensively. He reports on these in his 1924 article on the history and reconstruction of the Charisius text. The copy was also inspected by M. Bernhard for his review in *Gnomon* 1928.

Johan van Cuyck (Kuyck)[7] was born c. 1500 in Utrecht, the son of Anthonis van Cuyck, who was magistrate ("drost") of Hoogstraten and Culenborg. Johan studied *litterae* and law, lived in Utrecht and held several offices; he was a member of the town council, and was alderman and in 1543–4 second mayor of Utrecht. Among his publications is an annotated edition of Cicero, *Officiorum libri tres* (Antwerp 1568, 1576). He edited these under the name of *Joannes Cauchius*, but the name of *Cautius* is also found. He was married to Elisabeth van Moerendael, and the couple had several children, one of these called Anthonis. Johan van Cuyck died on November 17, 1566. He is thus one of the gentlemen-scholars who in the sixteenth century combined a public life with scholarly activities. His son Anthonis van Cuyck was born about 1535 and died about 1601. He studied at various universities, mostly Italian,[8] and like his father held public

---

[4] Schlechter's observations about the handwriting of the annotations are different from those of Chr. Baehr, the librarian Keil consulted (p. xxv). See later on.

[5] Barwick 1924, 324–5.

[6] In Caspar Burmannus, *Traiectum eruditum, Virorum doctrina inlustrium qui in urbe Trajecta et regione Trajectensi nati sunt sive ibi habitarunt vitas, fata et scripta exhibens* (Utrecht 1738, ^{2}1750), p. 82, Keil found a reference to the annotations of Johannes Cauchius owned by Graevius. Because he knew that the Heidelberg library possessed several volumes from the Graevius library, he enquired of the librarian C. Baehr about these and was informed of the presence of the Cauchius annotations.

[7] The following paragraphs are based on the entries CUYCK in P.C. Molhuysen *et al.* (eds), *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek (NNBW)*, Leiden: Sijthoff, vol. VIII 1930, coll. 351–54. The entries use several sources, one of these being Burmannus' *Traiectum eruditum* 81–2 (see previous note).

[8] See also Keil p. xxv: *[. . .] Paulus Manutius ad Laevinum Torrentium scribit epist. V*

office. In 1566 he married Margaretha Boll, a daughter of the mayor of Utrecht, and they had six children.

He published *Grammatica Gallica* (three editions known, Basle 1570, Antwerp 1576 and Strasbourg 1586) and *Grammatica Latina* (Antwerpen 1577, 1581). Several letters to Antonius Caucius (*sic!*) (but not one by him) are listed in the correspondence of Iustus Lipsius.[9]

For his annotations in the Charisius edition Cauchius—this version of the name will be used henceforth—, employed a *codex manuscriptus*. Before Keil became acquainted with Cauchius' annotations this codex was already known to scholars under the name of *codex Dousae*. It was in the possession of or used by Cauchius, Jan van der Does (Janus Dousa Senior) (1545–1604), Louis Carrion (1547–1595), Paul van Merle (Merula) (1558–1607), Frans van der Does (1577–1630), Andreas Schotte (1552–1629),[10] and Bonaventura de Smet (Vulcanius) (1538–1614). Vulcanius made a collection of variant readings of the *codex Dousae* and this was used by Helias von Putschen (1580–1606) for his edition of Charisius (1605) and by Pieter Bondam (1727–1808) in his *Variarum lectionum libri II*, Zutphen 1759. F. Lindemann for his part used this collection for his edition of Charisius (*Corpus Grammaticorum Latinorum veterum* IV,1, Leipzig 1840).[11] The *codex Dousae* was lost, we do not know when and where, but probably about 1600. In view of the many correspondences between readings taken by other scholars from this codex and those reported by Cauchius as coming from his manuscript Barwick established their identity. Codex C did not contain the whole Charisius text: book I.1–9 and 16 as well as books IV and V were missing, and in book I the order of the chapters

4 p. 261 ed. Venet. A. 1595, duos Cauchii filios in Italia perigrinantes Charisii exemplum a patre emendatum ad se detulisse seque ut illud ederetur optare et ei rei operam daturum esse. According to Barwick 1924, 325 the latter fact is also mentioned in Manutius' collection of letters vol. IV 27.

[9] A. Gerlo *et al.* (eds), *Iusti Lipsii Epistolae*, vol. 1, Brussel 1978. I owe this reference to Professor Chris Heesakkers, Leyden.

[10] Carrio used the codex for his edition of Sallustius (1574), Merula for that of Ennius' *Annales* (1595), F. van der Does for an edition of the fragments of Lucilius (1597) and Schotte in his *Observationum humanarum libri V* (1615).

[11] Ample information on these scholars can be found in De Nonno 1982, 62–3. For Jan and Frans van der Does see also *NNBW* VI (1924), coll. 425–9 and 417–8 respectively; Merula *NNBW* VI (1912), 902–4; Schotte *NNBW* VI, 1231–3; B. Vulcanius *NNBW* X (1937), 1143–5. For the links of Jan van der Does Senior, P. Merula and Bonaventura Vulcanius with the Leyden University Library see now Chr. Berkvens-Stevelinck, *Magna Commoditas. Geschiedenis van de Leidse universiteitsbibliotheek 1575–2000*, Leiden: Primavera Pers 2001, 25–66.

was 15, 17, 10–14, 18, 19. In other words, the codex was focused on the eight parts of speech and it was "ein für Schulzwecke beschnittenes Char.-Exemplar" (Barwick 1924, 334). It shares this feature with some other manuscripts which contain excerpts from Charisius' *Ars*, but their exact relationship is unclear.[12]

b. *The notes of Cauchius*

In his 1924 article Barwick writes (pp. 324–5): "Die Varianten, die er (*sc.* Cauchius, *DMS*) sich in ein Exemplar der ed. pr. eingetragen hatte, [. . . .]. Eine Reihe von Besserungsvorschläge [. . .], die er an den Rand seiner ed. princ. notiert hat [. . .]", and at p. 328:

> Cauchius hat die Varianten der alten Hdschr., wie schon bemerkt, in ein Exemplar der ed. princ. eingetragen, teils an den Rand (wo er dann vielfach ein *Al.* vorsetzt), teils in den Text selbst. Wo die Änderungen und Erweiterungen gegenüber der ed. princ. zu stark waren, sah er sich gelegentlich genötigt, ein besonderes Blatt einzuheften.[13] Seine Einträge machen den Eindruck grösster Sorgfalt und Gewissenhaftigkeit; bisweilen werden auch Doppellesungen zu einer Stelle notiert, von denen in der Hdschr. die eine offenbar übergeschrieben bzw. am Rand vermerkt war.[14] Seine Verbesserungsvorschläge pflegt C durch ein vorgesetztes *f.* zu kennzeichen[15] oder durch Angabe des Grammatikers, auf den sie sich stützen.[16]

On the basis of these quotations the user of Barwick's *apparatus criticus* will not understand annotations such as at 247.15 unde—16 dicatur *om.* C or 248.20 ut *om.* C. Also the *ratio* of the note at 250.8 on *ut* stating *del.* C will be enigmatic, and the same conclusion applies to that at 250.16 on *vel ideo cum industria del.* C. How does Cauchius indicate that in his manuscript words are omitted or even deleted? A few times, when reporting on specific points, Barwick says that in the text a word was "durchgestrichen" (thus at p. 325), but these specifications do not help much. In order to have a better under-

---

[12] Schmidt 1989, § 523.2.C (pp. 128–31) gives the best survey of the manuscript tradition of Charisius' text.

[13] Thus at 251.22.

[14] Thus at 247.23 *Al.* experti tamen *Al.* et partitum tamen. Cauchius writes the abbreviation *Al.* with a capital *A*, but, of course, not in italics.

[15] Thus at 249.21 *Al.* heus curro. heu veniebant. obsorum *f.* absurdum (this word is crossed out and under it is written) absonum.

[16] Such an indication fails in the pages I have looked at.

standing of Barwick's annotations I asked Dr Schlechter to send me a microfilm of Cauchius' copy of the first edition. On this film I inspected the text of Romanus (246.18–252.31), which in the *editio princeps* is found at pp. 70 ff.

It is important to bear in mind that Cauchius made his annotations in his own copy of the *editio princeps* and that these are twofold in character. On the one hand they represent what he found in manuscript C, on the other they are his own conjectures (Barwick's *Verbesserungsvorschläge*). We know that he was planning a new edition of Charisius' *Ars*. Now almost all notes written in the margin are preceded by either *Al.* or *f.*, and so their origin is beyond doubt. Cauchius introduces, as it were, the alternative readings from his MS by underlining the relevant words in the text. Thus at 248.30 he underlines in the text the word *aequius* and adds in the margin *Al. sequius.* At 248.11 (*nec ullam poterit significanti adhibere caliginem* in the *ed. pr.*) both *significantis* and *expedire* are underlined, and in the margin we find *Al. significantis* and *f. amovere* (if I read it rightly).

However, Cauchius also made alterations in the text itself, mostly very small ones. They are found everywhere in his copy. Thus at 247.3 he changed the initial letter of *non* into a capital *N*, and at 247.2 he changed *qui* in the printed text into *quia.* At line 9 he wrote *oni* above the last *i* of *interiectibus* (not noted by Barwick). Of more importance is what he did at 247.6. The *ed. pr.* had *subito* (taken over from MS N). Cauchius crossed out this word and above it he wrote *occulto.* At 247.10, where the *ed. pr.* had *Cum autem extrema linea*, Cauchius crossed out *autem* and wrote above it *velut*, but he also underlined *autem extrema linea* and wrote in the margin *Al. velut extremae lineae*, deleting the final *e* in *extremae.* At 252.21 the *ed. pr.* offered *proditum requiramus*, and Cauchius crossed out the *a* and wrote an *e* above. Above *re* he wrote *con*, as far as I can see.

In the *ed. pr. lacunae* are indicated by a blank space with a rosette. At those places Cauchius filled the gap by writing the relevant word or words around the rosette, e.g. at 247.18 (*metuit et* [gap with rosette] in the printed text) Cauchius filled in *metuit et inl* rosette *udi*, or at 247.20 he put into the blank space the words *separ* rosette *ando viam* (both -*ando* and *viam* written as -*ado* and *via* with a ~ above each *a*). But at 247.24 the blank space between *vero* and *cachinnum* is not filled up and in the margin we read *Al. vae. ah. he. num.*

Several times Barwick annotates *om.* C or *del.* C. Deletions are clearly marked by Cauchius because he crosses out the relevant

words: *e.g.* at 248.9, where the *ed. pr.* gives *namque* and *aut ut*, Cauchius puts a line through *nam* and *aut ut* and writes above it *quo* and *veluti* respectively. At 249.24 he both underlines and crosses out *quanquam* of the *ed. pr.* and in the margin writes *Al. quam.* 250.8 the word *ut* in the text is crossed out, and the same procedure for *ut* is followed at 248.20 (here Barwick wrongly annotates *om.* C). The omission at 247.15–6 of the words *unde confidit* till *dicatur*, as indicated by Barwick, I have not found on the microfilm. Cauchius underlines *respiciet* before *unde confidit*, but not the latter words, and in the margin he puts *Al. respicietur* and above it *repetietur.* In the text he crosses out the ending of *confidit* and writes *unt* above it; moreover, between *unde* and *confidit* he writes *maxime.* There is only one clear case of omission: at 252.18 at the right of *et quantitatibus* (both words underlined) Cauchius puts **O** and in the margin he writes *Al. O.* To give a final example, at 251.21, the passage with a long Greek quotation, which in the existing MSS had been replaced by the words *et cetera quae Graece sequuntur*, Cauchius deleted these words and on a separate piece of paper which he inserted in his copy first wrote *Al. aliquid*, then *f. aliqui ut*, followed by the Greek quotation from Aquila and the beginning of the following quotation, both written in minuscule (251.22–252.2). After these words he left a large blank and at the bottom wrote in majuscule the words quoted by Barwick in his *app. cr.* Apparently he could not make sense of the latter words.

I said above that the origin of the marginal annotations preceded by *Al.* or *f.* are beyond doubt. But the same certainty is not to be attained in the case of many changes made by Cauchius in the printed text itself. We cannot be sure, to take one example, that the change at 247.9 from *interiectibus* to *interiectionibus* is due to what Cauchius read in his MS. It may well be the result of a conjecture made by himself. The words put by him in the blank spaces of the *ed. pr.* at 247.20 may well come from his MS., the more so because at l. 24 he indicates that the blank is filled up in his MS. I cannot imagine that at 247.16 Cauchius conjectured the insertion of *maxime*, and so I think that it comes from his MS.; consequently (although not necessarily) I would ascribe the form *confidunt* to MS. C, not to Cauchius himself.

Because of the impossibility of determining the status of each change in the text, and in order not to overload the *apparatus criticus*, I have decided to follow Barwick in keeping to the *siglum* C. This sign may indicate a reading found in the margin, often introduced by *Al.*, but

also a change from the *ed. pr.* which is found in the body of the printed text, and which may, or may not, come from MS. C. When a change concerns a clear conjecture of Cauchius, which is preceded by *f.*, I put in the *app. crit.* 'Cauch'.

A different problem concerns the places where Cauchius does not change anything in the text of his copy of the first edition. In view of his careful and conscientious approach evident elsewhere one is apparently allowed to infer that his MS. had the same text (a), and that Cauchius had no reason to make a conjecture (b). Inference (b) is less important, of course, than inference (a). A minor example is found at 248.17. The *ed. pr.* reads *cras adibo* (not *cras abibo* in Keil's and Barwick's texts),[17] and Cauchius does not change the verb form. Apparently his MS. had the same text. Of more interest is Cauchius' silence at 248.29. There Linnemann, Keil and Barwick read *votis esse comparem credimus*, and only Linnemann annotates: *Voti esse compotem* Edd. O. *votis esse comparem* Cod. Cauchius' copy has *voti esse compotem*, and Cauchius is silent. I have discussed this difficult passage in my commentary and finally come down in favour of the text printed by Keil and Barwick. But one may suspect that MS C had the text of the first edition. This edition was based on MS *Neap.* IV A 9 (n^1), which through MS *Neap.* IV A 10 (n) derived from *Neap.* IV A 8 (N).[18] Ms N, though very difficult to read, gives a better text than its dependants, and because both Keil and Barwick made careful collations of N (Barwick 1924, 322), to all probability N has *votis esse comparem*, and n^1 and C *voti esse compotem*.

A final matter is the provenance of the annotations, both made in the margin and introduced into the body of the text. Did father Johannes make them, or son Antonius?

The librarian Chr. Baehr looked into the matter at Keil's request, and Keil (p. XXV) reports his findings as follows:

> est autem exemplum principis editionis cui discrepantia libri manuscripti ab ipso Cauchio, *cuius se manum probe cognoscere conlatis aliis eiusdem Cauchii libris Baehrius adfirmabat* (my italics, DMS), adscripta est.

The "other books of the same Cauchius" Baehrens speaks about, undoubtedly are the five other volumes that come from the Graevius library and had "eindeutig Besitzvermerke von Antonius Caucus",

---

17 Linnemann annotates *Adibo* Edd. O. *abibo* Cod.

18 See Barwick 1925, *praef.* VII–XI.

as Dr Schlechter assures me. Unless these other volumes also contain marginal annotations—but neither Baehrens nor Schlechter says so—, the single proof of provenance of the annotations seems to be found in the indications of ownership, *e.g.* something like *ex libris A. Caucii.* But such a "Besitzvermerk" is not found in the Cauchius copy of the *editio princeps*, although it is certain that it came together with the other five volumes from the Graevius library (see above).

Although there is no direct proof, as far as I can see at this moment, the probability that father Johannes is the author of the annotations is great. Keil (p. XXV) presents the contents of a letter of Paulus Manutius (see also note 8):

> duos Cauchii filios in Italia peregrinantes Charisii exemplum a patre emendatum ad se detulisse seque ut illud ederetur optare et ei rei operam daturum esse.

We know that Antonius studied at Italian universities, and he will have been one of the two sons who paid a visit to Manutius. The wish of Manutius was not realized. At any rate, from this statement we can infer that Johannes Cauchius prepared a new edition, and consequently, there is a greater possibility that the father wrote the annotations than that his son Antonius did so. But further research with personal inspection of the relevant items is a *desideratum.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY

N.B. Books and articles which do not concern linguistic and/or rhetorical theory and are referred to once only are omitted from this bibliography. For these works full details are given in the footnotes or the commentary.

I. *Abbreviations*

dkP	*der kleine Pauly*, Stuttgart: Druckenmüller 1964–1975.
DNP	*Der Neue Pauly*, Stuttgart-Weimar: Metzler 1993–...
FDS	*Die Fragmente zur Dialektik der Stoiker*, ed. K. Hülser. Stuttgart: Frommann-Holzboog 1987–88.
GG	*Grammatici Graeci*, edd. G. Uhlig *et al.*, Leipzig: Teubner 1883–1910 (repr. Hildesheim: Olms 1965).
GL	*Grammatici Latini* ex recensione H. Keilii, 7 vols, 1 suppl., Leipzig: Teubner 1857–1880 (repr. Hildesheim: Olms 1961)
K.-S.	R. Kühner – C. Stegmann, *Ausführliche Grammatik der lateinischen Sprache II: Satzlehre*, Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung 1912–4.
Lomanto-Marinone	Valeria Lomanto & Nino. Marinone, *Index grammaticus. An Index to Latin Grammar Texts.* Hildesheim: Olms 1990.
L.-S.	Ch. T. Lewis and Ch. Short, *A Latin Dictionary*, Oxford 1879.
LSJ	H. G. Liddell- R. Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon* Oxford 1940^{9}, *Rev. Suppl.* 1996.
OCD	*Oxford Classical Dictionary* 1970^{2}, 1995^{3}.
OLD	*Oxford Latin Dictionary*, ed. by P.G.W. Glare, Oxford: Clarendon Press 1982.
ORF	*Oratorum Romanorum Fragmenta*, ed. H. Malcovati, Torino 1955^{2}.
PLRE	*Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, edd. A.M.H. Jones *et al.*, Cambridge : Univ. Press, I, 1971.
RE	*Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Stuttgart 1893–1980.
SchDTh	*Scholia in Dionysii Thracis artem grammaticam*, *GG* I.3.
Szantyr	J.B. Hoffmann – A. Szantyr, *Lateinische Syntax und Stilistik*, München: Beck 1965.
TLL	*Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*, Leizig: Teubner 1900–...

II. *Books and articles*

Ax, Wolfram 2000. *Lexis und Logos.* Studien zur antiken Grammatik und Rhetorik, herausg. von F. Grewing, Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag.

Baratin, Marc 1989. *La naissance de la syntaxe à Rome.* Paris: Les Éditions de Minuit.

—— 1994. Sur la structure des grammaires antiques, in: J. De Clercq-P. Desmet eds), *Florilegium Historiographiae Linguisticae.* Études d'historiographie de la linguistique et de grammaire comparée à la mémoire de Maurice Leroy, Louvain-La-Neuve: Peeters, 143–57.

Baratin, Marc – Françoise Desbordes (1986) La 'troisième partie' de l'*ars grammatica, HL* 13, 215–40.

Barwick, Karl 1922. *Remmius Palaemon und die römische ars grammatica* (Philologus Suppl. XV), Leipzig: Dieterich'se Verlagsb. (repr. Hildesheim-New York: Olms 1967).

——1924. Zur Geschichte und Rekonstruktion des Charisius-Textes, *Hermes* 1924, 322–55; 420–9.

—— 1925. *Flavii Sosipatri Charisii artis grammaticae libri V*, ed. C. Barwick, Leipzig: Teubner (repr. with *addenda et corrigenda* by F. Kühnert, 1964 and 1997).

Beck, J.W. 1894. *C. Plinii Secundi librorum dubii sermonis VIII reliquiae*, Leipzig: Teubner.

Bernhard, M. 1928. Review of Barwick 1925, *Gnomon* 4, 106–16.

Biville, Frédérique 1996. Le statut linguistique des interjections en latin, in: Hannah Rosén (ed.), *Aspects of Latin*, Innsbrucker Beiträge Sprachwissenschaft n° 86, 209–20.

Boelte, Felix 1886. *De artium scriptoribus latinis*, diss. Bonn.

—— 1888. Die Quellen von Charisius I 15 und I 17, *Jhrb. für class. Philologie* 137, 401–40.

Bonnet, Guillaume 2000. Charisius et Dosithée, reflets de Cominien. Charisius, Dositheus and the lost *Grammar* of Cominianus, *RPh* 74, 7–16.

Calboli, Gualtiero 1991. Die Rhetorik in der römischen Spätantike, in: Gert Ueding (ed.), *Rhetorik zwischen den Wissenschaften*, Tübingen: Niemeyer, 9–20.

Christ, Wilhelm 1862. Review of *Grammatici Latini ex recensione Henrici Keilii*, vol. I–III, *Philol.* 18, 112–85. (pp. 112–27 on the edition of Charisius' *ars*).

Collart, Jean (ed.) 1978. *Varron, grammaire antique et stylistique latine*, Paris: Les Belles Lettres.

Dam, Roelf Jan 1930. *De analogia*. Observationes in Varronem grammaticamque Romanorum (diss. Utrecht), Kampen: J.H. Kok.

Dammer, Raphael 2001. *Diomedes grammaticus* (Bochumer Altertumswiss. Colloquium 51), Trier: Wiss. Verlag.

Della Casa, Adriana 1969. *Il Dubius Sermo di Plinio*, Genova.

—— 1978. Giulio Romano nella storia della grammatica latina, in Collart 1978, 217–24.

Della Casa, Anna 1985. Rassegna di studi sui grammatici latini (1934–1984), *Bollettino di studi latini* 15, 85–113 (repr. in *Grammatica e Letteratura*. Scritti seletti di Adriana Della Casa, Genova 1994: Brigati, 207–48).

De Nonno, Mario 1982. *La grammatica dell'* Anonymus Bobiensis (*GL* I 533–565 Keil) con un' appendice carisiana (Sussidi eruditi 36), Roma: Ed. di Storia e Lett.

—— 1985. L' *Anonymus Bobiensis* e la riforma dell' edizione dei grammatici, *RFIC 118, 366–79.*

—— 1990. Le citazioni dei grammatici, in: G. Cavallo *et al.* (eds), *Lo spazio letterario di Roma antica*, vol. 3: La ricezione del testo, Roma: Salerno Ed., 597–646.

Desbordes, Françoise 1988. La fonction du grec chez les grammairiens latins, in: Irène Rosier (ed.), *L'héritage des grammairiens latins de l'antiquité aux lumières*, Paris: Soc. pour l'information grammaticale, 15–26.

Dionisotti, Anna Carlotta 1982. On Bede, grammars, and Greek, *RBen* 1982, 111–41.

—— 1984. Latin Grammar for Greeks and Goths, *JRS* 74, 204–8.

Fehling, Detlev 1956. Varron und die grammatische Lehre von der Analogie und der Flexion I, *Glotta* 35, 214–70.

Froehde, Oscar 1892a. De C. Iulio Romani Charisii auctore, *Jhrb. für class. Philologie*, Suppl. 18, Leipzig, 565–672.

—— 1892b. *Die Anfangsgründe der römischen Grammatik*, Leipzig: Teubner.

Gatti, Paolo 1997. Charisius, *DNP* 2. Band.

Grebe, Sabine 2000. Kriterien für die *Latinitas* bei Varro und Quintilian, in: A. Haltenhoff und F.-H. Mutschler (Hrsg.) *Hortus Literarum Antiquarum*. Festschrift Hans Arnim Gärtner zum 70. Geburtstag, Heidelberg: C. Winter, 191–210.

Henriksson, K.E. 1956. *Griechische Büchertitel in der römischen Literatur* (Ann. Ac. Sc. Fenn. B 101.2), Helsinki: Universitätsverlag.

Holtz, Louis 1978. Sur les traces de Charisius, in: Collart 1978, 225–33.

—— 1981. *Donat et la tradition de l'enseignement grammatical*, Paris: Éditions du CNRS.

Hovdhaugen, Even 1986. *Genera verborum quot sunt?* Observations on the Roman Grammatical Tradition, *HL* 13, 307–22.
Howald, Ernst 1922. Review of Barwick 1922, *Socrates* 48, 204.
Janson, T. 1964. *Latin Prose Prefaces.* Studies in Literary Convention, Stockholm.
Jeep, Ludwig 1893. *Zur Geschichte der Lehre von den Redetheilen bei den lateinischen Grammatikern*, Leipzig: Teubner.
—— 1896. Die jetzige Gestalt der Grammatik des Charisius, *RhM* 51, 401–40.
Jocelyn, Henry D. 2002. Flavius Caper, C. Iulius Romanus and the Text of Plautus' Comedies, in: I. Taifacos (ed.). *The Origins of European Scholarship*, Nicosia.
Kaster, Robert A. 1978. Servius and *idonei auctores, AJP* 99, 181–209.
—— 1988. *Guardians of Language.* The Grammarian and Society in Late Antiquity (The Transformation of the Classical Heritage XI), Berkeley-Los Angeles: Un. of Calif. Press.
Kaster, Robert A. 1995. Suetonius *De grammaticis et rhetoribus*, Oxford: Clarendon Press.
Keil, Heinrich 1857. *Grammatici latini I*, Leipzig: Teubner.
Kennedy, George A. 1983. *Greek Rhetoric under Christian Emperors*, Princeton: Univ. Press.
Kroll, Wilhelm 1924. *Studien zum Verständnis der römischen Literatur*, Stuttgart: Metzler (repr. Darmstadt: Wiss. Buchges. 1964).
—— 1931. Literaturbericht für das Jahr 1928. Lateinisch: I. Syntax, *Glotta* 19, 253–65.
Kroon, Caroline 1995. *Discourse Particles in Latin.* A Study of *nam, enim, autem, vero* and *at* (Amsterdam Studies in Classical Philology 4), Amsterdam: Gieben.
Lammert, F., 1931. Review of Barwick 1922, *JAW* 131, 43–7.
Lausberg, Heinrich 1960. *Handbuch der literarischen Rhetorik*, 2 vols, München: M. Hueber (cited after sections, e.g. § 589).
Law, Vivien 1986. Late Latin Grammars in the Middle Agers. A Typological Study, *HL* 13, 365–80.
—— 1996. The Mnemonic Structure of Ancient Grammatical Doctrine, in P. Swiggers & A. Wouters 1996, 37–52.
Lebek, Wolfgang Dieter 1970. *Verba prisca.* Die Anfänge des Archaisierens in der lateinischen Beredsamkeit und Geschichtsschreibung (Hypomnemata 25). Göttingen: Vandenhoeck& Ruprecht.
Leonhardt, Jürgen 1989. *Dimensio syllabarum.* Studien zur lateinischen Prosodie- und Verslehre von der Spätantike bis zur frühen Renaissance (Hypomn. 92), Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
Lindemann, Friedrich 1840. *Corpus grammaticorum latinorum veterum*, Tomus IV Flavium Sosipatrum Charisium et Diomedem continens. Leipzig: Teubner.
Maltby, Robert 1991. *A Lexicon of Ancient Latin Etymologies* (ARCA 25). Leeds: Francis Cairns Publ.
Marache, René 1952. *La critique littéraire de langue latine et le développement du goût archaïsant au II[e] siècle de notre ère*, Rennes: Plihon.
Matthews, Peter 1994. Greek and Latin Linguistics, in Giulio Lepschy (ed.), *History of Linguistics* II. London and New York: Longman, 1–133.
Mazhuga, Vladimir 1998. Quand vivait et travaillait le grammairien Diomède? (summary of a paper in Russian), *Hyperboreus.* Studia classica 4, 165–6.
Mazzarino, A. 1948. Una nuova pagina di Plinio il Vecchio. I. Pansa o Plinio?, *Maia* 1, 200–22.
Munzi, Luigi 1992. Il ruolo della prefazione nei testi grammaticali latini, *AION* (filol) 14, 103–26.
Nettleship, H. 1886. The Study of Latin Grammar among the Romans in the First Century, *JPh* 15, 189–214.
Nicolau, Mathieu G. 1930. *L'origine du <cursus> rythmique et les débuts de l'accent d'intensité en Latin* (Coll. d'études latines V), Paris: Les Belles Lettres.

Oberhelman, Steven M. 1988. The History and Development of the *Cursus Mixtus* in Latin Literature, *CQ* 38, 228–42.
Pernot, Laurent 1989. Aquila in: Richard Goulet (ed.), *Dictionnaire des philosophes antiques*, I: *Abam(m)on à Axiothéa*. Paris: Éditions du CNRS, 317–21.
Pinkster, Harm 1972. *On Latin Adverbs*, Amsterdam: North Holland U.M.
Rouse, H.R. 1953. Charisius, in L.D. Reynolds (ed.), *Texts and Transmission. A Survey of the Latin Classics*, Oxford: Clarendon Press 1953, 50–3.
Scaglione, Aldo D. 1970. *Ars grammatica* (Janua Linguarum, series minor 77), The Hague-Paris: Mouton.
Schanz, M.-Hosius, C. *Geschichte der römischen Literatur* (Hdb. d. Altertumsw. 8.3), 3. Teil[3], München: Beck 1959.
Schenkeveld Dirk M. 1984. Stoic and Peripatetic Kinds of Speech Acts and the Distinction of Grammatical Moods (Studies in the History of Ancient Linguistics II), *Mnem* 37, 291–353.
—— 1990. The Stoic ΤΕΧΝΗ ΠΕΡΙ ΦΩΝΗΣ (Studies in the History of Ancient Linguistics III), *Mnem.* 43, 86–108
—— 1991. The Philosopher Aquila, *CQ* 41, 490–5.
—— 1992. Prose Uasges of AKOYEIN 'To Read', *CQ* 42, 129–41.
—— 1996. Charisius, *Ars grammatica* I 15: The Introduction (P. 61.16–63.20 B = 50.59–51.20 K), in: Swiggers & Wouters 1996, 17–35.
—— 1997. Philosophical Prose in: St. E. Porter (ed.), *Handbook of Classical Rhetoric in the Hellenistic Period (330. B.C.–A.D. 400)*, Leiden: Brill, 195–264.
—— 1998. The Idea of Progress and the Art of Grammar: Charisius *Ars Grammatica* I.15, *AJP* 119, 443–59.
—— 2000. Why no Part on Syntax in the Greek School Grammar? Solecisms and Education, *HEL* 22, 11–22.
—— 2003. The Invention of the Whole-and-Part Figure and the Stoics on Solecism. Ancient Interpretations of *Iliad* 24.58, *Mnem.* 55, 513–37.
Schmidt, Peter L. 1989. Grammatik und Rhetorik, in: Reinhart Herzog (ed.), *Handbuch der lateinischen Literatur* 5: Restauration und Erneuerung. Die lateinische Literatur von 284 bis 374 n. Chr. (Handb. d. Altertumswissenschaft 8.5), München: Beck (cited after sections, e.g. § 521).
—— 1997. Grammatik, in: Karl Sallmann (ed.), *Handbuch der lateinischen Literatur* 4. Die Literatur des Umbruchs von der römischen zur christlichen Literatur (117 bis 248 n. Chr.), (Handb. d. Altertumswissenschaft 8.4), München: Beck (cited after sections, e.g. § 432).
Schmid, W. – Stählin, O. *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur* I.3 and II.2[6] (Hdb. d. Altertumsw. 7.1.3 and 7.2.2), München: Beck 1940 and 1924.
Schottmueller, A. 1858. *De C. Plinii Secundi libris grammaticis* I, Diss. Leipzig.
Serbat, Guy 1978. Le "futur antérieur" chez les grammairiens latins, in Collart 1978, 263–72.
Siebenborn, Elmar 1976. *Die Lehre von der Sprachrichtigkeit und ihren Kriterien.* Studien zur normativen Grammatik (Stud. z. ant. Philosophie 5), Amsterdam: Grüner.
Sluiter, Ineke 1988. Een en al oor—Grammatica en euphonie, in: S.R. Slings en I. Sluiter (eds), *Ophelos. Zes studies voor D.M. Schenkeveld*, Amsterdam: VU Uitgeverij, 77–95.
—— 1990. *Ancient Grammar in Context.* Contributions to the Study of Ancient Linguistic Thought, Amsterdam: VU University Press.
—— 2000. Seven Grammarians on the Ablative Absolute, *HL* 17, 379–414.
Stein, A. 1928. Zur Abfassungszeit der Grammatik des Romanus, *Hermes* 63, 480–1.
Stroux, Johannes 1949. *Römische Rechtswissenschaft und Rhetorik*, Potsdam: Stichnote.
Swiggers, Pierre & Alfons Wouters 1996. *Ancient Grammar in context* (Orbis, Suppl. 7), Leuven: Peeters.
—— 2002. De adverbio. Statut et significations de l'adverbe chez les grammairiens

latins, in P. Swiggers & A. Wouters (eds), *Grammatical Theory and Philosophy of Language in Antiquity* (Orbis, Suppl. 19), Leuven: Peeters, 287–323.
Taifacos, Ioannis 1985. *C. Iulius Romanus* (thesis London) (not published).
—— 1989. On a Citation of Julius Romanus in Charisius, *CPh* 78, 148–9.
Throm, H. 1932. *Die Thesis* (Rhetorische Studien 17), Paderborn.
Tolkiehn, Johannes 1904. Der Abschnitt de interiectione in den 'Αφορμαί des C. Julius Romanus, *BPhW* 24, 27–30.
—— 1907. Von der Tendenz und ursprünglichen Gestalt des Charisius, *WkPh* 37, 1020–2.
—— 1910. *Cominianus*, Leipzig.
—— 1910–15. Die Lebenszeit des Grammatikers Charisius, I *BPhW* 30, 1054–5; II *BPhW* 35, 1915, 188–9.
—— 1911. Crassicius Pasicles, später Pansa zubenannt, *BPhW* 31, 412–6.
—— 1916. *Philologische Streifzüge*, Leipzig: Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandung.
—— 1926. Zur Textgestaltung der Grammatik des Charisius, *PhW* 46, 107–11.
Uhl, Anne 1998. *Servius als Sprachlehrer.* Zur Sprachrichtigkeit in der exegetischen Praxis des spätantiken Grammatikerunterrichts (Hypomnemata 117), Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
Uría Varela, Javier 2002. What can we learn from place-names in Charisius' 'Ars grammatica'?, in: I. Taifacos (ed.). *The Origins of European Scholarship*, Nicosia.
Usener, Hermann 1868. Vier lateinische Grammatiker, *RhM* 23, 490–507 (repr. in *Kleine Schriften* II, Leipzig: Teubner 1913, 173–189).
—— 1892. Ein altes Lehrgebäude der Philologie, *Sitzungsber. d. Philos-philol. und hist. Kl. d. Bayr. Ak. d. Wiss.* 1892. Heft IV, 582–648 (repr. in *Kleine Schriften* II, Leipzig: Teubner 1913, 265–314).
Wessner, Paul 1902. Bericht über die Erscheinungen auf dem Gebiete der lateinischen Grammatiker [. . .] für die Jahre 1891–1901, *JAW* 30, 113, 113–227.
—— 1922. Review of Barwick 1922, *PhW* 42, 1177–87.
—— 1927. Review of Barwick 1925, *PhW* 47, 292–302.
Wilkinson, L.P. 1963. *Golden Latin Artistry*, Cambridge: Univ. Press.
Zetzel, J.E.G. 1974. Statilius Maximus and Ciceronian Studies in the Antonine Age, *BICS* 21, 107–23.
—— 1981. *Latin Textual Criticism in Antiquity* (Monographs in Class. Stud.), New York: Arno Press.

GENERAL INDEX

Anonymus Bobiensis, 17–8
Apollonius Dyscolus, 26, 58, 97
Apuleius, 29, 49, 51, 79, 99, 117, 119
Aquila philosophus, 31–2, 125
artes:
  alphabetical order, 7, 15–6, 29–30, 34–5
  description v. prescription, 34–6
  intended audience, 5, 16, 28
  livre de maître, 5, 27
  structure of, 5, 7–8, 14–6
  types of:
    ars grammatica, 15–6, 27–8, 33–4, 36–7
    regulae, 5, 8, 15–6, 27, 36
    Schulgrammatik, 5, 7, 15, 20, 22, 24, 27, 32
  written for a Greek public, 5, 16
Asper, Aemilius, 41–2, 47
Aulus Gellius, 2, 39, 47
Ax, W., 120

Baratin, M., 5, 7, 24
Barwick, K., 1, 5–7, 11, 13, 14–27, 38–9, 48, 51, 97–134, 136–39
Boelte, F., 17, 24–6
Bonnet, G., 20–1

Caesellius, L. Vindex, 38, 40–2
Caper, Flavius, 22, 25–6, 28, 30, 40–2, 48, 52
Carmen de figuris, 77
Cauchius, J., 5, 32, 97–132, 133–40
Celsus, Arruntius, 40–1
Charisius:
  compiler-editor, 12, 14–5, 27
  didactic intention, 13, 27
  plenior, 18
Christ, W., 107, 112–3, 131
Cominianus, 5, 9, 12, 17, 22, 27, 34
Consentius, 18, 23
Criteria of correct Latin: 4, 27, 37
  analogia (analogy, *ratio*), 4, 8, 14–6, 32, 43–7, 65, 67–71
  auctoritas, 4, 36, 43–7
  consuetudo, 4, 36–7, 43–7, 69
  elegantia, 46
  see also: veteres

Dam, R.J., 25
Dammer, R., 8, 15, 18, 20, 37
De Nonno, M., 15–6, 25, 27
Diomedes, 4–5, 7–8, 15, 18, 20–1, 34, 37, 55, 66, 75
Dionisotti, A.C., 4, 6, 29
Donatus, Aelius, 2, 14–5, 18 34, 55
Dositheus, 18, 20

Fabricius, G., 41, 104, 108, 115
Flavius as status designation, 2
Froehde, O., 7–8, 10, 29, 32–3, 39, 42, 51–2, 109, 129

Gewährsmann der Charisius-Gruppe, 17–21
Grammarians:
  amateurs as, 2, 16, 30
  Grammatikersitte, 25–6
  guardians of language, 16
Grammatical observations:
  collationem capere, 116
  denique, 'for instance', 123
  enim, 98
  et (. . .) tamen, 101
  etenim, 105
  exitus, 103
  futurum exactum, 117
  gerund as participle, 103
  igitur, 98
  ingenium, 'quality' (?), 126
  iudicium, 'wish', 111
  nam, 125
  oratio = *pars orationis*, 103
  ordines ducere, 117
  paraphrasis, 100
  qualitas = *significatio*, 106
  remedia, 'enticements', 114
  sed, 114
  specto + indir. question, 99
  subsonare, 106, 128
  tamen . . . vero, 104
  -ve = *et*, 102, 108, 123
  velut, 'for instance', 89
Grammatical theory:
  adverbium:
    adiectio verbi, 58, 61–4, 69, 76
    collatio, 57, 65–6, 113–5

consortium, 55, 57, 59–61, 69, 99, 102, 114
definitio, 54, 58, 61, 69
endings, 54–7, 65–7, 69
praeverbium, 63, 130
respondendi, 54, 62–3, 65, 105–6
significatio, 54, 71, 106
appellatio, 'adjective', 131
archaisms, 120
comparatio, 58, 114
differentiae, 6, 127
idiomata, 6–7, 31, 37
interiectio, 31, 55–7, 59–64, 69, 99, 102–5, 113
kanónes, 15
partnership, *see consortium*
see also: artes, Criteria of correct Latin, Stoics

Helenius Acron, 26, 40–1, 53, 66, 116–7
Holtz, L., 5–6, 13, 15, 18

Jeep, L., 13, 17, 21, 23, 54, 63, 97–8, 106, 112, 114–5, 130–1
Jocelyn, H.D., 50, 52
Julian the Apostate, 3

Kaster, R.A., 2–3, 16–7, 22, 29, 45, 127
Keil, H., 2, 32, 38–9, 97–131, 133–5, 139–40
Kleywegt, A.J., 114
Kroll, W., 74, 122, 127–8
Kroon, C., 98, 125

Lachmann, K., 108, 110–1
Law, V., 5, 7–8, 15, 36
Leonhardt J., 75
Lindemann, F., 98, 108, 110, 134, 136

Macrobius, Ambrosius Theodosius, 2–3
magister scrinii, 2
Marache, R., 50, 124
Marcius Salutaris, 29, 39–41
Matthews, P., 5
Mazzarino, A., 25–6
Munzi, L., 3

Nettleship, H., 23
Nicolau, M., 75

Oberhelman, S.M., 72–5

Palaemon, Q. Remmius, 9, 12, 14, 16–7, 22–6, 34, 37, 97, 105, 108, 112
Palladius, 14
Pansa, L. Crassicius Pasicles, 22, 24–6
place names as illustration of declensions, 1
Pliny the Elder, 2, 23, 25–6, 30, 37–41, 43–4, 46–8, 53
Priscian, 15
Probus, M. Valerius, 15
Putschen, H. von, 98, 136

Quintilianus, M. Fabius, 23, 44, 51

Rhetorical observations:
abundantia, 103, 119
amplificatio, 117
anticipatio, 70, 99
Bescheidenheitstopos, 99
chiasmus, 70, 119, 121
concessio, 52, 60, 68, 92, 99, 113
congeries, 70, 103
enallage, 124, 132
excursus, 108
hendiadys, 70, 113, 119, 131
hyperbaton, 110, 120
imagery, 70, 102–3, 105, 107, 123, 131
periphrasis, 70, 106
personificatio, 70, 102, 115
poetical expression, 103
retarding remark, 106
rhetorical question, 102, 104–5, 113
scriptum et voluntas, 109
tricolon, 111
variatio, 70–1, 98, 100, 103, 106, 117, 120
Romanus, C. Iulius: 3, 9, 17, 19, 21–7, 29–79, 97–132
amateur grammarian?, 30
grammatical sources, 39–42
his book:
character of, 37
meaning of the title, 40
structure, 32–8
title, 38

Sacerdos, 14, 75
Scaurus, Q. Terentius, 14, 40–1, 119, 130
Schenkeveld, D.M., 4, 22, 29, 35, 37, 47, 101, 125
Schmidt, P.L., 1–3, 5–6, 14–5, 18, 20–1, 25, 32–4, 37–8, 50, 59, 100, 117, 129
Schottmüller, A., 17, 23
Servius, 6, 45, 60, 101, 103, 108, 112

Siebenborn, E., 4, 36, 43, 46, 121–4
Sluiter, I., 34, 37, 46, 56, 59, 61, 63, 65, 67, 69, 9–8, 100, 103–4
Stoics:
  on the adverb, 101
  techne, 22
Suetonius Tranquillus, 34, 53
Swiggers, P.-A. Wouters, 54, 97, 106

Taifacos, I., 29, 33–4
titulus, senses of, 32
Tolkiehn, J., 3–4, 17, 19–21, 23, 25–6, 29, 37, 101, 131

Uría Valera, J., 2
Usener, H., 2–3

Verrius Flaccus, 25, 40–1
veteres, 12, 16, 35–6, 42, 48–52, 67, 122–4
Victorinus, M., 112
Vindex, L. Caesellius, 32, 38, 40, 42
vir egregius, rank of, 29
vir perfectissimus, rank of, 29
Virgilius grammaticus, 130

Winterbottom, M., 98–9, 109–2, 112–5, 119, 126, 130

Zetzel, E., 22, 40, 42, 129